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## Reports of U.N. Command Operations in Korea

### **EIGHTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER 16-31, 1950<sup>1</sup>**

U.N. doc. S/1885  
Transmitted Nov. 6, 1950

I herewith submit report number 8 of the United Nations Command operations in Korea for the period 16-31 October, inclusive. Korean releases (numbers 559 through 602) appended hereto provide detailed accounts of these operations.

#### **Ground Operations**

Enemy resistance to United Nations forces advances has been sporadic and weak during most of the period of this report, but had begun to stiffen towards the end of October. Despite the Communist defenders' advantage of extremely rugged, mountainous terrain, their defensive efforts have failed to prevent continued U.N. advances, which have averaged more than 10 miles per day. Defending briefly at most points of contact generally with battalion size units the Communist North Korean forces have yielded 150 miles of territory over the whole front. The wholesale retreat before unrelenting U.N. pressure has been extremely expensive to the enemy both in men and in matériel. Enemy prisoners of war have reached an approximate figure of 135,000. Captured matériel was in proportion.

<sup>1</sup> Transmitted to the Security Council by Ambassador Warren R. Austin, U.S. representative in the Security Council on Nov. 6. For texts of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh reports to the Security Council on U.N. command operations in Korea, see BULLETIN, of Aug 7, 1950, p. 203; Aug. 28, 1950, p. 323; and Sept. 11, 1950, p. 403; Oct. 2, 1950, p. 534; Oct. 16, 1950, p. 603; Nov. 6, 1950, p. 729, and Nov. 13, 1950, p. 759, respectively. These reports are published separately as Department of State publications 3935, 3955, 3962, 3978, 3986, 4006, and 4015, respectively. The eighth, ninth, and tenth reports are published as Department of State publication 4051.

CORRECTION: The U.N. document reference for the text of the seventh report as printed in the BULLETIN of Nov. 13, 1950, p. 759 should read S/1883 instead of S/1588.

On 20 October the United States 187th Regimental Combat Team executed a parachute drop at Sukch'on and Sunch'on. The drop area was about 30 miles north of Pyongyang and was accomplished at the time United States, British and Republic of Korea Army units were attacking to secure Pyongyang. This efficiently executed airborne operation materially reduced the enemy resistance to the south and contributed to the rapid advance of the U.N. units on the west coast.

At no time since the September collapse of the North Korean line around Pusan has the enemy been able to organize a solid, coordinated front. However, with our approach to the Yalu River, the enemy has become somewhat more aggressive, and has resisted much more strongly along a line some 50 miles south of the border. In the west coast sector, elements of the NK 17th Armored, and 32d and 45th Infantry Divisions have built up the semblance of a front extending northeast about 50 miles from Chongju to Onjong, which has temporarily slowed our rate of advance. At Onjong, on the eastern leg of this sector, an estimated two regiments of the NK 45th Division vigorously counter attacked our advanced units, forcing one United Nations unit to make a slight withdrawal. United Nations forces also met increasing resistance in their advance on the east coast sector.

On 26 October, amphibious elements of the United Nations naval forces began an administrative landing of the 1st United States Marine Division and other units of the Corps over the beaches in the Wonsan area. These units had been moved by water from Inchon around the peninsula to Wonsan.

On 29 October the United States 7th Infantry Division with Republic of Korea Army units



landed on the beaches at Iwon which is 178 road miles north of Wonsan.

The 7th Infantry Regiment of the 6th Republic of Korea Division advanced to the northern border of Korea on the Yalu River at one point near Ch'osan on 26 October.

For the first time in the Korean war, Chinese soldiers of the Chinese Communist forces were captured in combat in Korea. They wore North Korean uniforms, and may have been volunteers. There is no positive evidence that Chinese Communist units, as such, have entered Korea, although incomplete interrogation of these prisoners of war indicates that possibility.

Guerrilla operations conducted by enemy bands of from 50 to 2,000 have been relatively intense south of the 39th [38th?] parallel. Such bands carry out frequent raids on defenseless towns and villages, and harass small military convoys and units. United Nations forces in affected areas destroy or disperse these bands when they show themselves, but the process of eliminating this menace is necessarily a slow one, since the mountainous terrain and complex nets of hill trails facilitate their escape.

The First Turkish Armed Forces Command arrived in Korea on 17 October and has been attached to the Eighth Army. This force consists of infantry, artillery and supporting services normal to combat in the field. The Turkish force is a valuable and welcome addition to the United Nations columns.

Two more Republic of Korea infantry divisions were activated during the period.

#### **Navy Operations**

United Nations naval forces continued to effectively deny to the enemy the use of Korean Coastal waters. Naval air support and naval gunfire activity were reduced during time of the period of this report, reflecting the decreased intensity of enemy resistance on the ground. Attacks of our carrier based aircraft were concentrated mainly on moving transport and on roads and rail lines on the Korean east coast north of Wonsan and against the off-lying islands near Wonsan harbor. Military targets in the vicinity of Songjin were bombarded by United Nations warships on 17 October.

The only serious problem confronting United Nations naval forces during this period was that of enemy mines. A number of Korean ports lib-

erated by United Nations forces in recent weeks were mined by the enemy. In most cases, the numbers of mines involved are not large. However, the enemy laid a very massive minefield in the approaches to the harbor of Wonsan. To clear a channel through this minefield required the constant employment of a substantial number of United Nations minesweepers throughout a period of more than two weeks. A planned program for clearing principal North Korean ports of enemy laid mines has been instituted.

Evidence continues to accumulate that the design of the mines used by the enemy does not provide for their being rendered harmless as soon as they have broken loose from their moorings, as is required by international law. To date, over 40 drifting mines have been found and destroyed by United Nations naval forces, of which a large proportion proved to be live.

#### **Air Operations**

United Nations combat aircraft retain the potential of mounting formidable offensive or defensive efforts but the paucity of North Korean targets has called for few daily sorties in comparison to the rate of air activity during previous periods. Fighters and light bombers are constantly available for close support as the United Nations ground forces drive the aggressor to his northern border but only limited numbers of tanks, vehicles, and artillery provide targets as small enemy groups attempt to organize localized defenses and counter-attacks or disengage and flee in disorder.

The accent has shifted from the combat aircraft to the cargo planes as air dropped equipment and supplies support the United Nations columns knifing deep into hostile territory beyond the capability of immediate normal resupply operations.

Aerial resupply to advanced bases has proved a major contribution to continued ground operations as surface supply routes have been extended. Airlift has provided the principal support for continued advances and will do so until additional seaports in North Korea are opened. Wonsan and Pyongyang are airlift terminals for the east and west sectors, respectively. One day's lift into Pyongyang for the 8th Army approximated 1,400 tons.

On 20 October, in a technically perfect performance, 110 Far East Air Forces cargo aircraft



dropped over 2,800 paratroops of the United States 187th Airborne Regiment with over 300 tons of combat equipment well behind enemy lines at Sunch'on and Sukch'on. Succeeding drops brought the total of personnel dropped to about 4,000, the total equipment to over 600 tons.

Hostile air activity has consisted of a few nuisance raids by light aircraft at night. No damage has resulted.

#### **Prisoners of War**

The continuing disintegration of the North Korean Army as a fighting force is exemplified by the fact that approximately 135,000 prisoners of war are now in the hands of United Nations forces; of these about 60,000 are now located in five prisoner of war camps in the vicinity of Pusan, 33,000 are detained at a prisoner of war camp in Inchon, 11,000 at Pyongyang, and the remainder are detained in transit enclosures pending transfer to permanent camps.

#### **Atrocities**

United Nations field forces continue to report atrocities and other violations by the enemy of the laws and customs of war. Up to the present time, a total of 74 war crimes incidents, involving approximately 26,000 victims, have been noted in our files. Approximately 400 American military personnel appear to have been the victims of offences of various kinds, while the remaining victims have been South Korean nationals, civilians as well as military. Investigation of the incidents continues as the tactical situation permits.

It has become increasingly evident that in the interest of justice steps must be taken to try before appropriate tribunals of the United Nations Command those prisoners of war, and others who may be taken into custody and who, prior to capture or detention, have committed atrocities and other offences violative of the laws and customs of war. I have, therefore, caused to be prepared in this headquarters, and I have promulgated to the United Nations Command, a set of rules and regulations for the conduct of United Nations military commissions which will be convened, whenever needed, for the trials of such persons under the common law of war. Copies of these rules and regulations are being forwarded for your information. Jurisdiction is limited under the rules of conventional war crimes and the so-called international crimes of waging aggressive warfare

and crimes against humanity, such as genocide, are not included.

#### **Civilian Relief**

Problems of relief and welfare in North Korea have been made more difficult and complex by the absence of local government officials, utilities, transportation, and relief and welfare agencies; however, supplies to prevent disease, starvation and unrest are being distributed as expeditiously as the military situation permits.

The situation in South Korea is becoming more stabilized with most of the refugees having been returned to their homes. Local governments have been reestablished in most areas. Economic conditions are improving and donations from member nations are beginning to arrive; however, critical needs exist for food, clothing, fuel and medical supplies.

Detailed surveys and estimates indicate that the Masan-Taegu perimeter sustained much heavier damages than originally estimated. The original estimate was that there were 30,000 homes destroyed whereas the actual destruction is nearer 120,000. Detailed surveys are now being conducted on a house-by-house, family-by-family basis.

Throughout the destroyed areas people are building temporary huts on former house sites. Progress on reconstruction has been good in the smaller towns and rural areas; however, rebuilding has been slower in the cities due to lack of raw materials.

In spite of the destroyed medical facilities and almost total lack of medical supplies, the general health of the people appears to be good. In some areas less than one-third of the local doctors can be found, either because they were war casualties or became refugees and have not returned to their former homes. Medical supplies for those who desire to resume practice are being provided from United Nations sources to assist in the relief, welfare and prevention of disease throughout Korea. For example, the vaccination program is near completion in the city of Seoul with over 700,000 individuals immunized against cholera, typhoid and smallpox and over 300,000 immunized against typhus. Similar programs are now under way in Inchon and other large towns in the northern areas of Korea.

As indicative of the feeling of the populace in some areas north of the 38th parallel, there was a

United Nations day celebration in the city of Wonsan attended by an estimated 12,000 persons with appropriate flags, banners and speeches.

This event was organized by the local populace without the guidance or influence of United Nations officials, or military forces.

#### **Transportation in Korea**

The transportation systems of Korea are in such a condition that extensive rehabilitation is required. The rail line from Pusan to Seoul was opened as a single track line on 21 October 1950 by means of a shoo fly bridge across the Han River. This route has an average daily movement of 3,975 short tons and 688 passengers. Another single track line is in operation from Pusan to Tanyang and will be opened to Seoul after rehabilitation is completed on six major bridges and three tunnels. The single track line from Yosu to Kunsan to Taejon is in operation. The Seoul-Wonsan line is open to Tongduch'on-ni. The United Nations forces have rehabilitated and are operating 1,295 miles of railroad in Korea and have in operation 245 locomotives and 4,400 freight cars of all types. Extensive rehabilitation activities are in progress on the rail lines.

The highways from Pusan to Pyongyang are open. These roads are in poor condition and through highway movement is the exception rather than the rule. The main effort on highway rehabilitation has been directed toward restoring damaged bridges and minor repairs to the roads in heavy traffic areas.

As the major means of supplying both the military and civil requirements is by water, the ports of Korea have been rehabilitated materially. However, there still remains much construction to be done before they will be at their pre-war standards. The major ports of discharge are Pusan and Inchon. The discharge rate at Inchon has been raised from 1,000 short tons to 5,000 short tons daily during the period 19-31 October 1950. Many of the smaller ports are in operational condition and will be used for the relief programme in order to reduce the internal distribution problem. The ports of Wonsan and Chinnamp'o are in the process of being cleared of mines. During the period 15-31 October 1950, the ports in Korea discharged 366,507 measurement tons of military cargo, 45,000 metric tons of relief cargo, and out-loaded 19,308 measurement tons of cargo.

With the liberation of large areas of Korea, increasing emphasis is being given by leaflet and by radio to inform the Korean people of the announced objectives of the United Nations in Korea. Special broadcasts and 3,120,000 leaflets were used throughout the nation on 24 October to commemorate United Nations Day. United Nations leaflets disseminated in Korea have passed the one hundred million mark. In areas of military operations, ground and airborne loud-speaker systems are being extensively used to inform many soldiers of the military situation and impress upon them the futility of resistance. Surrender leaflets and loudspeaker messages are having considerable effectiveness in inducing voluntary surrenders. Radio Pyongyang has been restored to operation on a temporary basis, and is expected to resume scheduled broadcasts shortly.

#### **Press Censorship**

Despite heavy pressure to the contrary, no military censorship has been instituted by the United Nations Command throughout the Korean campaign. Reliance for security against the premature publication of information helpful to the enemy has instead rested upon voluntary censorship by editors and correspondents. This policy has resulted in the most complete and prompt public dissemination of information on the course of operations of any military campaign in history, without as far as is known a single security breach of a nature to assist the enemy. This may be said to the great and lasting credit of the press of the free world and its responsible publishers, editors, and correspondents. In evaluating the issue between compulsory and voluntary censorship, one must understand that the sole purpose of either is to safeguard against the premature publication of information on plans and operations which would assist the enemy to develop countermeasures. No form of censorship can prevent espionage, nor can it properly be employed to control undue emphasis given to the outcroppings of emotional strain which must, as in the present campaign, find its correction in the balance achieved through maturity gained with battle experience. Nor is it the proper instrument for the avoidance of factual error. Correspondents assigned to cover military operations are the selected representatives of responsible publishers and editors and their ability to assume the responsibility of self-censorship has been amply and conclusively demonstrated in the

course of the Korean campaign. In the many military campaigns in which I have engaged, most of which were covered by a rigid form of news censorship, I have never seen the desired balance between public information and military security so well achieved and preserved as during the Korean campaign.

#### **In Conclusion**

1. Operations are continuing to destroy the remains of the North Korean forces.

2. Approximately 135,000 prisoners of war have been captured.

3. Complex airborne and amphibious operations were expertly executed by elements of the United Nations Army, Navy, and Air Force commands.

4. The attitude of the large majority of North Korean people toward the United Nations forces is that of friendly welcome for relief from oppression and conflict.

5. A Turkish Army force has arrived in Korea. Two more Republic of Korea infantry divisions were activated. Army combat forces now in the United Nations Command in Korea represent six different nations.

6. There is no military press censorship in the United Nations Command. Voluntary censorship of editors and correspondents is producing an excellent balance between public information and military security.

7. Repair of roads, rail lines and ports is progressing.

8. The continuation of the relief, welfare, and rehabilitation program in Korea is essential. To insure success of this program, it is imperative that member nations contributions of food, relief, and medical supplies be expedited for shipment to Korea.

#### **NINTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD NOVEMBER 1-15, 1950**

Included in U.N. doc. S/1953  
Transmitted Dec. 28, 1950

I herewith submit report number 9 of the United Nations Command operations in Korea for the period 1-15 November, inclusive. Korean releases (numbers 602 through 643) provide detailed accounts of these operations.

#### **Introduction**

Chinese Communist Forces in significant strength have moved across the Yalu River and

attacked United Nations Forces. This constitutes an act of international lawlessness far exceeding that of mere brigandage. The course of operations of United Nations Forces in Korea has in consequence changed from that of pursuit of defeated and routed North Korean army remnants to that of a new campaign against a fresh enemy force.

#### **Ground Operations**

On 31 October, the dwindling North Korean Forces appeared to be making a last desperate stand in the Unsan area. Elsewhere, they were steadily giving ground to advance to United Nations Forces. However, on 1 November, elements of the 124th Chinese Communist (CCF) Division were identified on the front near Kot'ori, a few miles south of Choshin Reservoir. Within ten days, through interrogation of prisoners from all Chinese units involved, elements of eleven more CCF divisions were identified in the forward areas. Of these, elements of nine had taken up positions between Pakch'on and Topch'on in the western sector, and CCF strength in the Kot'ori area had expanded to identified elements of three divisions. At the same time, United Nations aerial reconnaissance disclosed heavy troop movements near the border, in Manchuria, and into Korea.

To date, Chinese Communist intervention has increased effective enemy strength by an estimated three hundred per cent. By this action, the enemy has made it necessary to integrate advanced United Nations elements into a continuous front on the western and central sectors, for coordinated large scale offensive action. During the period of the United Nations Forces redeployment the Communist Forces were moderately aggressive and mounted numerous small scale attacks at various points in the western and central parts of the front. As United Nations Forces resumed the offensive, the enemy displayed flexibility, and resisted stubbornly at Pakch'on, Won'ni, and particularly at Tokch'on.

In the widely extended east coast sector, no definite front lines exist. Of the three main axes of advance, the Communists interposed a strong defending force only on the approaches to the Choshin and Fusen Reservoirs. On the P'ungsan-Kapsan axis, the North Korean Wonsan Brigade has retreated to Kapsan under steady United Nations pressure. The 507 North Korean Brigade,



carrying out limited delaying actions, has been forced to displace 25 miles northward from Kilchu along the main east coast highway.

In reinforcement and resupply, the enemy is relatively safe from United Nations air interdiction, because he can move from the border to the front lines during the long winter hours of darkness.

Front lines at the end of the period ran generally from Pakch'on, near the west coast, eastward to Tokch'on, thence northeast to Kot'ori, and Kapsan, and thence eastward to Tajin on the east coast.

The 29th British Infantry Brigade Group arrived in Korea on 3 November and the 21st Thailand Infantry Regiment arrived on 7 November. United Nations Army combat forces in Korea now contain units from seven nations. The differences in language, equipment, supplies and methods of operations are being solved satisfactorily and the cooperation between forces of different nations is excellent.

One more Republic of Korea Division was activated during the period.

Enemy guerrilla operations, primarily conducted by by-passed North Korean units, both in the immediate and deep rear areas, continue north of the 38th Parallel. Though by no means a serious factor, these forces are a constant menace to United Nations supply lines, extremely prejudicial to civil control, and require disproportionate numbers of United Nations troops for internal policing action. Conditions south of the 38th Parallel have improved considerably and the counter-guerrilla operations in that area are now being accomplished entirely by Republic of Korea Forces.

#### **Navy Operations**

During the period covered by this report, units of Thailand Navy joined the United Nations naval forces in Korean waters, which forces now are comprised of naval units of nine member nations.

United Nations naval forces of all types and categories, by their constant patrol activity, continued to maintain absolute control of the movement of all surface craft in Korean coastal waters.

Carrier-based naval aircraft carried out an interdiction program on lines of communication in northeastern Korea, attacking bridges, rail lines and enemy transports wherever found. During the latter days of the period, these aircraft shifted their attack to the international bridges over the Yalu, operating under strict orders not to violate

Manchurian territory. Despite the handicaps of this restriction and of unhampered anti-aircraft fire from batteries on the Manchurian side of the river, the attacks of these aircraft have produced excellent results.

Marine fighter bomber aircraft, carrier-based as well as shore-based, furnished daily close air support to units of the X Corps in their operations in northeastern Korea.

Naval gunfire support and bombardment activity reached the lowest level of the Korean campaign, due to the growing lack of military targets within the radius of their guns.

Enemy mines continued to engage a large share of the attention of the United Nations naval forces. The small minesweeping flotilla, and associated units, devoted maximum efforts to this tedious and dangerous task throughout the period and the results of this effort are plainly evident. Shipping was able to dock at berths at Wonsan Harbor on 5 November. Light draft vessels were able to enter Chinnamp'o Harbor on 10 November. Minesweeping continues off Chinnamp'o and Hungnam with the prospect that both these important ports will be completely free of mines in the near future.

To date over eighty drifting mines have been found and destroyed by United Nations naval forces. A large portion of these drifting mines were live mines, in violation of international law which requires that mines shall be so constructed as to automatically become harmless as soon as they have broken loose from their moorings.

#### **Air Operations**

The United Nations complete supremacy in the air has been challenged for the first time during the Korean operations by modern high performance type jet aircraft. Russian-produced MIG-15 have been engaged in combat over Korean territory since 1 November when United Nations planes were attacked in Sinuiju area. This period also has seen a marked increase in the employment of enemy conventional type aircraft against United Nations air and ground forces, though so far they have constituted in the main no more than a nuisance factor.

Comparative losses favor the United Nations forces despite operating factors favoring the enemy. The Communists are taking full advantage of the sanctuary afforded within the areas beyond the Manchurian border, respected by our

forces. Aircraft have been observed taking off from Antung in Manchuria and proceeding to the attack south across the Yalu River. The interception of these planes between the border and the United Nations front lines is a difficult problem—so short a period of flight is involved.

Combat damaged Communist planes which would certainly have been destroyed, had our forces been operating without restriction, have found refuge in Chinese Communist territory. The superiority of United Nations pilots has been nullified upon occasion when hard pressed Communist fliers have utilized the border to break off combat and improve their tactical position by gaining altitude or by other maneuver, and then have returned to combat. Thus handicapped, United Nations aviators cannot anticipate the capability to deny the area to limited Communist aerial offensives.

Planes attacking military objectives south of the border have drawn antiaircraft artillery fire from guns on the Manchurian side. This hostile action has been conducted with impunity as a result of scrupulous efforts of United Nations forces to maintain inviolate the border. The Communists practice this conscienceless derision of justice and peace from their bases of aggression protected solely by a barrier imposed by the democracies' desire to prevent expansion of the arena of conflict.

Interdiction of enemy lines of communications is being vigorously pursued throughout the limited area remaining to the North Koreans. The southern ends of the bridges across the Yalu River are being attacked in an effort to retard the flow of Chinese Communist supplies and personnel, though the most important bases and reserves remain invulnerable within Manchuria. Command, communication and supply centers of North Korea will be obliterated in order to offset tactically the handicap we have imposed upon ourselves strategically by refraining from attack of Manchurian bases.

A South African Air Unit has joined other United Nations air forces in the Far East during the period.

Aerial supply continue to contribute materially to both ground and air combat operations.

#### **Prisoners of War**

Since my last report a new prisoner-of-war camp with two enclosures capable of accommodat-

ing 50,000 prisoners has been established in Pyongyang, Korea. Approximately 22,000 prisoners are now detained there. The three prisoner-of-war camps with eight enclosures now operating in Korea will provide facilities and accommodations for 200,000 prisoners.

All camps are being rapidly developed and improved. Projects now in progress include winterization of tents and other housing facilities, installation of elaborate water systems and construction of additional sanitary facilities and mess facilities. Large additional quantities of warm winter clothing and bedding have been shipped to Korea for issue to prisoners of war.

#### **Atrocities**

In July the units of the United Nations Command were directed to investigate and report all war crimes atrocities uncovered by them. Subsequently, when it became evident that atrocities were being committed by the North Koreans on a large scale, it was deemed advisable to have in being an organization capable of continuing and completing investigations begun by tactical units which subsequently move forward. Therefore a war crimes division was established in the Headquarters of the Eighth United States Army, and to this division has been assigned operational responsibility for the investigation and apprehension of persons suspected and accused of having perpetrated conventional war crimes. Tactical units continue to investigate and report atrocities as heretofore.

It is now estimated that the number of victims of atrocities committed by the North Koreans totals 35,000 of whom the vast majority were non-combatants whose only crime was that they harbored, or were suspected of harboring, beliefs at variance with those of the individuals in power in North Korea. The receipt of new reports of almost unbelievable atrocities continues unabated. An incident only recently discovered occurred on or about 27 September when approximately 50 civilian men and women were arrested by the North Korean authorities. Their hands and feet were tied; they were dropped down two wells, and large rocks were dropped on them. None survived this ordeal. Another incident, discovered on 2 November, occurred on or about 20 October, when more than 400 civilians, believed to have been political prisoners, were executed in the bomb shelter of a coal mine. Twenty persons are said

to have survived this massacre. And, on 8 November, more than 700 bodies were found in another coal mine in the same vicinity.

#### **Civil Activities**

To assist in the problems of relief and the reestablishment of local and provincial governments in North Korea, civil assistance teams have been organized to provide the necessary guidance and assistance in the achievement of United Nations aims.

In cities north of the 38th Parallel where tactical conditions permit, local civil governments have been reestablished by the appointment of appropriate individuals to key positions. These temporarily appointed officials provide necessary civil administration and function under the supervision and guidance of the civil assistance teams of the United Nations Command.

To further implement the civil assistance program in the field of public health and welfare, I have recently requested recruitment from United Nations members of technically qualified persons to permit formation of additional public health and welfare teams for use in the areas of North Korea.

The need for relief supplies and equipment in Korea continues to be critical. Economic conditions have improved with the receipt of more than 300,000 metric tons of relief supplies and equipment. However, additional contributions to prevent widespread suffering are becoming more necessary with the approach of the winter season.

The attitude of local inhabitants continues to indicate appreciation of the United Nations effort in Korea. Indicative of this was the recent spontaneous celebration by the citizens of Pusan on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the organization of the United Nations.

#### **Psychological Warfare**

The appearance of alien Communist soldiers in northern Korea has intensified the importance of leaflet operation and loudspeaker transmission to enemy forces. Twelve million leaflets were air dropped to enemy troops during the first half of November, including 7 million in Korean and 5 million in Chinese. The Chinese language leaflets reiterate the traditional friendship of the peoples of the United Nations for the Chinese people, and assure Chinese soldiers now in Korea the United Nations forces will respect the inviolability of

Korea's international frontiers. All leaflets convey to enemy soldiers the United Nations guarantee of good treatment for prisoners of war, and urge them voluntarily to lay down their arms. More than 115 million United Nations leaflets have now been disseminated in Korea. Loudspeaker broadcasts, both from the air and on the ground, are proving effective in complementing the influence of leaflets in inducing surrender of enemy soldiers. United Nations broadcasts from Radio Seoul and Radio Pyongyang, as well as from United Nations Command Headquarters, continue to provide the civil population of Korea with authentic news reporting.

#### **In Conclusion**

1. Large scale Chinese Communist intervention has profoundly altered the concluding phase of the Korean War.

2. Advances continued in the eastern sector and forces were regrouped in the western sector to contend with the new enemy of the United Nations.

3. The United Nations Command now comprises army forces of seven nations, navy forces of nine nations, and air forces of four nations.

4. Enemy aircraft are attacking United Nations forces in Korea from bases in Manchuria.

5. Requirements continue for civilian relief supplies.

#### **TENTH REPORT: FOR THE PERIOD NOVEMBER 16-30, 1950**

Included in U.N. doc. S/1953  
Transmitted Dec. 28, 1950

I herewith submit report number ten of the United Nations Command operations in Korea for the period 16 to 30 November, inclusive. Korean releases, numbers 644 through 689 and United Nations Command communiqués, numbers 12, 13 and 14, provide detailed accounts of these operations.

#### **Introduction**

In order to more clearly present the situation facing the United Nations forces at this time, I present you a résumé of events that have transpired since September.

By the middle of October 1950, the United Nations forces had in prisoner-of-war enclosures over 130,000 north Korean military personnel and had killed or wounded over 200,000 more. Thus, the personnel of the north Korean forces were elimi-



nated, their equipment was captured or destroyed, and all but the northern borders of Korea was held by United Nations forces. For all practical purposes, the conflict with the armed forces of the former north Korean regime had been terminated.

Beginning in October 1950, Chinese Communists started moving into Korea and attempted to cover their moves by statements that it was individual volunteer participation. It is perfectly clear that the Chinese started moving the mass of their forces to position for the invasion by the middle of September. The Chinese Communist forces are now invading Korea and attacking United Nations forces in great and ever increasing strength. No pretext of minor support under the guise of volunteerism or other subterfuge now has the slightest validity. These irrefutable facts prove that the Chinese Communist regime has directed an invasion of Korea and an assault against the United Nations forces.

During the first half of the period there were extensive operations by United Nations air forces of all types in sustained attacks on enemy lines of communications, supplies, and troop concentrations in conjunction with a regrouping and resupply of United Nations Army forces. On 24 November a general attack was launched by all available United Nations forces. The attack progressed satisfactorily for two days, at which time strong attacks, principally by Chinese Communist forces, required readjustment of United Nations forces and resuming defensive operations. The United Nations offensive successfully developed and revealed the strength and intentions of the Chinese Communists.

#### **Ground Operations**

The enemy forces now opposing United Nations operations in Korea demonstrated considerable strategic and tactical skill during the period of this report. These forces, now predominantly Chinese Communist, surrendered very extensive areas in the east coastal sector in the zone of operations of the X United States Corps. United Nations forces were virtually unchallenged within the great quadrangle marked by Chongjin, Hyesanjin, Choshin Reservoir, and Hungnam, except for strong pressure on United Nations units south and west of the Reservoir. The United States 7th Infantry Division met only moderate opposition in its rapid advance to the Manchurian border at Hyesanjin, and Republic of Korea forces

had similar success advancing beyond Chongjin on the east coast. However, in the west sector Communist forces launched a strong offensive, producing a collision with the United Nations general offensive of 24 November.

In the west sector, on a line arching northward between Kasan and Tokch'on the enemy displayed little interest in combat from 16 to 25 November, inclusive. In many instances, United Nations units advanced several miles without contacting the enemy, and United Nations patrols ranging northward five to eight miles met only occasional resistance in the eastern part of the sector. On 26 and 27 November, the enemy, apparently reinforced by several fresh Chinese Communist armies (Corps) from Manchuria, attacked all along the line, devoting his major effort to the United Nations Eighth Army right flank in the Tokch'on area. These strong, sustained attacks, characterized by the usual Communist infiltration and flanking tactics, forced advanced United Nations units on the United Nations Eighth Army left flank and center to displace ten to twelve miles to a main line of resistance extending between Pakch'on and Won-Ni. Powerful Communist thrusts north of Tokch'on forced United Nations units back about twenty-five miles to the vicinity of Taep'yong on the Taedong river. During the intense fighting in these actions, the enemy suffered heavy personnel losses as a result of maximum United Nations air, ground efforts. However, such losses are no longer of crucial military importance, in view of the enemy's tremendous capacity for troop reinforcement from secure bases in Manchuria.

The enemy opposition on the right flank of Eighth Army is now accepted as a major Chinese Communist force thrust which clashed with United Nations forces, and which involved elements of approximately eight Chinese Communist forces divisions, while holding operations on the remainder of the Eighth Army position involved approximately six additional Chinese Communist forces divisions. As part of this general Chinese Communist force offensive, savage attacks were directed against United Nations forces in the general vicinity of the Choshin Reservoir with a Chinese force estimated at six to eight divisions.

During the period 24 November to 1 December, the Chinese Communist forces are credited with having taken over direct responsibility for the entire front in North Korea, except for a short

line of contact north of Chongjin on the east coast. The Chinese Communists reportedly have transferred most of the North Korean forces to Manchuria for retraining and re-equipping. At present, the only significant military power now confronting United Nations Forces in Korea is Communist China.

Identified and accepted Chinese Communist units are as follows:

- 38th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 112th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 113th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 114th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 39th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 115th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 116th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 117th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 40th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 118th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 119th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 120th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 42nd Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 124th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 125th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 126th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 50th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 148th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 149th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 150th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 66th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 196th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 197th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 198th Chinese Communist Forces Division
- 20th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps)
  - 59th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 60th Chinese Communist Forces Division
  - 89th Chinese Communist Forces Division

This undoubtedly represents a total strength of about 200,000.

Units other than those listed above that have been identified, reported and tentatively accepted are the 70th Chinese Communist Forces Division of the 24th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps) and the 79th and 80th Chinese Communist Forces Divisions of the 27th Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps). In addition is the doubtful and unaccepted presence of the 94th Chinese Communist Forces Division of the 32nd Chinese Communist Forces Army (Corps).

Judging from experience of the past, it is considered that there is a strong possibility that both the 24th and the 27th Chinese Communist Forces Armies (Corps) are in the area of operations, in which case approximately 55,000 to 60,000 additional Chinese Communist Forces troops would then be added making a total of at least 250,000.

In reviewing the build-up of Chinese Communist Forces in Manchuria and Korea it is necessary to go back to June and July of this year when the decision to move the Chinese Communist Forces 4th Field Army to Manchuria was apparently made and the actual redeployment of these forces implemented. In view of the situation in Korea at the time, the decision to deploy one field army to this critical area could conceivably be supported as tactically and strategically sound and in the best interests of the Chinese Communists from a purely defensive viewpoint. However, the subsequent movement and employment of elements of the 3rd Chinese Communist Forces Field Army and possibly portions of the 1st Chinese Communist Forces Field Army certainly cannot be so justified. The vast quantities of personnel and material now poised along the Yalu River and aggressively employed against United Nations Forces in Korea far exceed the most elaborate requirements for the establishment of a purely defensive structure along the Korean-Manchurian border. It is evident that the assembly of such an array of force could not have been effectively accomplish "over night." These factors, considered with other pertinent manifestations, certainly indicate that plans for the active and aggressive intervention in the Korean war were undoubtedly developed early in the summer.

Front lines at the close of the period in the Eighth Army sector ran generally northeast from the mouth of the Ch'ongch'on River to Pakch'on east to Won-Ni, and thence southeast to Toep'yong Ni. In the X United States Corps sector on the east coast, no definite front lines exist. Points of contact demarcate a general line north from Sach'ong to Hagaru and Yudam on the Choshin Reservoir, northeast to Samsu and thence northeast to Chongjin on the east coast.

A Netherlands Army battalion arrived on 22 November and a French Army battalion arrived on 29 November. These units have joined the United Nations Forces in Korea which raises to nine the number of nations contributing Army combat forces.

Communist guerrilla units varying from a few hundred to several thousand men are operating in isolated areas throughout the United Nations occupied portion of Korea. At present, nearly thirty per cent of the United Nations troops in Korea are employed against them in the essential task of protecting supply lines and the more vital

urban centers. From 1 to 21 November, for example, there were nearly two hundred guerrilla raids and attacks, most of which required the immediate attention of United Nations anti-guerrilla forces. These units are primarily composed of former North Korean soldiers, and are led by professional leaders, many of whom have had extensive pre-war guerrilla experience. Guerrilla forces now total thirty thousand to thirty-five thousand in strength. There is growing evidence that guerrilla activities are being controlled and coordinated by the enemy high command, and that this menace to United Nations operations will necessitate continued anti-guerrilla measures. Of these, the most successful to date has been the destruction of many major guerrilla supply caches.

### **Navy Operations**

During the period of this report, United Nations naval forces of all types and categories despite extreme cold and considerable snow, continued to deny enemy surface units movement in any of the waters surrounding Korea. Carrier-based aircraft, also hampered by snow and adverse flying conditions, exerted maximum effort against military installations, troop concentrations, supply dumps, communications facilities, and especially the international bridges over the Yalu river over which the enemy is receiving most of his reinforcements and supplies. These carrier-based aircraft encountered intense and accurate anti-aircraft fire from batteries on the Manchurian side of the border when operating over Korean territory in the lower Yalu river valley. On one occasion, in the vicinity of Sinuiju, three carrier-based aircraft were seriously damaged by flak. In addition to anti-aircraft fire, carrier-based units, as well as air force units, have been attacked by planes operating from the Manchurian side of the border. On 18 November, carrier-based aircraft of Task Force 77 were attacked by eight to ten jet planes of Russian MIG-15 type operating from bases in Manchuria. One of these planes was destroyed and several others damaged. They all quickly avoided combat and, except for the one that was destroyed, took refuge over the border in Manchuria. In addition to carrying out interdiction strikes, carrier-based planes, plus Marine shore based planes, furnished close air support to ground units in northeastern Korea.

Naval gunfire support and bombardment increased during this period and the United Nations

naval units proved to be indispensable in aiding the advance of United Nations ground units north of Wonsan toward the northeastern border.

United Nations minesweeping units are continuing the task of sweeping mines from the harbors essential to our operations, a long and tedious process. While still a source of great danger to United Nations shipping, the menace of mines has been reduced considerably. Channels leading to the harbors of Haeju, Chinnamp'o, Wonsan, Hamhung, Sonjin, Iwon and Kojo have been swept by our minesweeping units and these ports are now open to our shipping. These are in addition to ports previously available to us. Thousands of tons of supplies are entering these ports daily for onward routing over short overland hauls to our United Nations units engaging the enemy to the north. Many drifting mines are still being sighted by our naval patrols both from the surface and the air. Many of these drifting mines are being destroyed and in most instances, as heretofore, prove to be still live, even though they have no moorings. This is further evidence that the North Koreans have deliberately violated international law in planting mines that do not become harmless when they break loose from their moorings. This mine menace, both due to moored mines and drifting mines, will prove to be a source of great danger to the shipping of all nations even after the cessation of hostilities.

### **Air Operations**

Air Forces of five nations, continuing the offensive launched by the United States Far East Air Forces in June, struck repeatedly at Communist forces and installations in the narrow band of North Korea controlled by the aggressor. The major part of the air effort comprised sorties in direct and close support of ground forces. Other than during occasional periods of bad weather ground unit commanders could anticipate early response to their calls for assistance by air.

The effectiveness of the United Nations air effort to prevent resupply and reinforcement of the enemies of the United Nations is seriously reduced by the restrictions to operations imposed by the border. Supply and concentration centers in the zone of action have been repeatedly attacked to the detriment of hostile capabilities, but the most suitable targets, many of them visible to our pilots flying south of the Yalu river, are north of the border, and immune to our attacks. The effects



of destruction of some of the international bridges is being nullified by the freezing of the river which permits crossing on the ice by heavy equipment at many points.

Hostile air activity, during the period 24 November-1 December, inclusive, was noted on twenty-three different occasions, with an over-all total of at least forty-four enemy aircraft reported as being involved. It is not practical to estimate total aircraft committed by the enemy, as sightings on various days might include previously employed aircraft. Although fewer enemy jets were sighted and observations were less frequent than during the past three-four weeks, and, regardless of the fact that there were only three aerial engagements, utilization of enemy aircraft showed signs of becoming more effective. This was indicated by the 28 November and 1 December attacks on Pyongyang airfield during the early morning hours of darkness. The first of these attacks damaged six United Nations aircraft and killed one person, damage resulting from the second has not yet been reported. On 26 November, on the same general vicinity, enemy aircraft accomplished four propaganda leaflet drops. Two unidentified 4-engine aircraft were observed on 28 November and one unidentified twin-engine aircraft, and possibly another, were observed on 26 November. Probable reconnaissance of front line areas by enemy aircraft was indicated by the greater number of friendly ground unit observations.

The enemy aircraft could appear in much greater numbers and become increasingly aggressive. Should this occur, and in the strength believed available to the Chinese Communist air forces, it is believed that the enemy air force would be capable of:

- (1) Diverting a considerable portion of the United Nations air effort from the direct support of ground action;

- (2) Hindering the United Nations air lift in Korea;

- (3) Striking United Nations vessels and installations of Korea; and

- (4) Possible effective support of enemy ground action.

The readily accessible sanctuary in Manchuria has provided the enemy with an advantage that is almost impossible for our airmen to overcome despite our superiority in other respects.

A significant development in the United Na-

tions air operations has been the increased number of attacks mounted at night against the enemy whose major movements are attempted under cover of darkness. Air resupply continues its important contribution to our operations.

#### **Prisoners of War**

No large numbers of Communist prisoners were taken during the period of this report; the Eighth Army captured no North Korean prisoners on their front from 20 to 28 November. The total captured to date numbers in excess of 140,000 of which 275 are Chinese.

All enemy prisoners of war of Chinese nationality were being detained in separate compounds segregated from Korean prisoners of war, in accordance with the provisions of article 22 of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war of August 12, 1949.

During the last half of the period covered by this report about sixty United States prisoners of war, nearly all of whom were wounded, were returned to the United Nations control by the Chinese Communists. These recovered United States prisoners have all been evacuated through medical channels and are now being cared for in United States medical facilities located in Japan.

It is interesting to note that more than 6,000 North Korean prisoners of war are being given hospital facilities staffed and operated by United Nations personnel.

#### **Atrocities**

The investigation of reported war crimes continues on an increased scope as a result of improved conditions in those areas of Korea which have been liberated from Communist control. No reports of any atrocities have been received from the areas recently taken by United Nations troops. Reports from the very small number of wounded United Nations troops recently released by the Chinese Communists of humane treatment is in marked contrast with all other reports in this regard received since the beginning of hostilities. Too few have been released to draw any valid conclusions as to whether the actions taken and publicly announced by the United Nations Command to insure the punishment of war criminals have convinced the enemy of the necessity that all prisoners of war and non-combatants receive the humane treatment required under international law and demanded by modern civilization.

## Civil Activities

Over-all contributions of civilian relief supplies from United Nations member nations now total approximately sixteen million dollars. These include food, clothing, medical and disease prevention supplies, fuel and miscellaneous items.

The advent of cold weather has made the clothing problem acute. Urgent need exists for additional quantities of blankets and clothing. Although medical and hospital supplies including sanitary materials are arriving in increased quantities a serious shortage of these items still exists due to the looting and destruction by the Communist forces in their withdrawal to the north.

Increasing quantities of rice, barley and flour received through United Nations sources have greatly improved the food situation in urban areas where the situation was acute. Conditions were particularly critical in the city of Seoul but regular free rations from November 3 to 15 caused the price of rice to fall from 8,000 won to 3,700 won per small mal (13.6 pounds). The rice price in June was 2,000 won per small mal. The government expects to collect 700,000 metric tons of rice from the current harvest. However, lack of transportation facilities from the rural to the urban areas may still present feeding problems in the larger cities. As rapidly as conditions permit rice polishing mills are being put in operation with two such mills in the Hungnam-Hamhung area being placed in operation during this period.

Where possible, immunization programs have continued among the civilian population. The existing situation does not permit accurate disease reporting. However, there has been no indication of a serious outbreak of any communicable disease in either north or south Korea.

As rapidly as conditions permit local and provincial governments are being re-established throughout the areas in north Korea. Government officials are temporarily appointed and operate under the supervision of civil assistance officers of the United Nations Command.

Construction has been in the minimum due to scarcity of materials, transportation and equipment. Public buildings and hospitals are undergoing minor repair. Railroads and bridges have been reconstructed to the degree necessary for movement of military supplies and troops. An effort is being made to rehabilitate the fishing

industry. Boats are being repaired and quantities of diesel fuel have been provided.

I would like to reiterate my previous statements that the contributions of member nations of the United Nations in personnel, supplies and matériel are contributing materially to the achievement of the United Nations objective in Korea and that continued assistance to the war torn country will do much to alleviate the suffering that exists.

## Psychological Warfare

Intensive efforts are being made to inform soldiers, both Korean and Chinese Communists, of the truth about the Korean conflict and to persuade them to cease resistance. During the latter half of November 20,000,000 leaflets and numerous loudspeakers broadcasts, both from the ground and from the air, were employed for this purpose, using message in Korean and in Chinese. Messages reiterate the objectives of the United Nations in Korea, and the assurance that the United Nations forces will respect the Sino-Korean frontier. They inform the enemy soldier of the liberation of most of Korea, and point out to him that further resistance serves no effective purpose except to obstruct the efforts of the Korean People to achieve independence and unity. More than 136,000,000 leaflets have now been disseminated in Korea. Similar information is being communicated to the civil population by radio broadcasts from Seoul and Pyongyang, as well as from United Nations Command Headquarters.

United Nations land and carrier-based aircraft have attacked unrelentingly and successfully targets in the limited battle area, but the denial to United Nations air of access to the most suitable and important targets north of the privileged border has precluded success in isolation of the battlefield.

Complete organized Chinese Communist units totalling over five Chinese Communist Forces Armies with a strength of approximately 250,000 have already crossed into north Korea and attacked United Nations forces.

At the closing of the period United Nations ground units were on the defensive.

Hostile aircraft continue to attack United Nations forces from the sanctuary of bases in Manchuria.

United Nations naval minesweeping forces have opened the majority of the large ports in north Korea for United Nations shipping.

## Facing Up to the Challenge of the Present World Crisis

by Secretary Acheson<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Question:

Some Americans of authority are saying that this is America's darkest hour. Do you believe that?

*Answer:*

Mr. Severeid, a nation's darkest hour is when its citizens lose their will and their courage. Americans have never done that. During the winter of Valley Forge, many people thought that was our country's darkest hour, but General Washington and his army and the people who supported him in the country never lost their courage and never lost their will. Other people thought that, 9 years ago now, the night of Pearl Harbor, was our darkest hour; but, again, Americans never lost their will, and they never lost their courage. And they faced up to the challenge which that event brought before them.

And, now, today, we are confronted by another aggressive force in the world. A well-armed force, a highly mobilized force, and that calls for action on our part to build our strength. We must build tanks, and guns, and planes, and more of them, and build them faster. We can do this. We are doing it, and we must do still more.

### 2. Question:

Most Americans seem to be keenly conscious of our strategic and military weaknesses in the face of Russia. What are our major points of strength?

*Answer:*

It is a good thing to be conscious of your weaknesses if being conscious of them leads you to do something about correcting them. We have great sources of strength.

In the first place, we have the tremendous source of strength that our cause is right. We are on the side of freedom and on the side of the great spiritual values which have created our country.

In the second place, we have friends who believe in the same values that we believe and this is a great source of strength.

In the third place, we and our friends have the greatest industrial capacity in the world which, in turn, can make us and our friends strong.

And, in the fourth place, we have not merely potential strength but we have strength in being since we have a first-class Navy and we have a strong Air Force, and, in our Army, we have the

nucleus around which we can build a real fighting force.

We have not only these forces in being but we have the power to retaliate against any aggressor who attacks us and our friends and that power cannot be overlooked. We expect to make ourselves respected and to deter aggression.

### 3. Question:

What can the average American now do to help his country through this time of crisis?

*Answer:*

Well, Mr. Severeid, it is precisely the average American who has the future of this country in his hands. In the first place, he must understand what the danger is that confronts us. I think most of our citizens do understand that, and I think that they are prepared to do all that is necessary to meet it. This means acting responsibly, and acting steadily, and acting with courage.

For some of us, this means service in the Forces. For others of us, it means work on farms, in factories, in the Government, in mines. It means not merely that we must produce more and more and more, but it means that we must not do the things which interfere with the effort of the country. We must not buy unnecessary things. We must not waste materials, and we must not try to evade the regulations which are set up for the security of all of us.

In short, the heart of the whole matter is that we must produce more. The prescription which we need today is the prescription which Mr. Churchill gave to England in 1940—blood and toil, sweat and tears—and may I add, faith—faith in our country, faith that the great task before us can be done and that it will be done.

## Orientation Course for Point 4 Experts Completed

The first orientation course for Point 4 experts assigned to jobs in the field has just been completed. After 2 weeks of intensive study in the Foreign Service Institute, the first group of experts to undergo this special training will now go out to do technical assistance work in Liberia, India, Haiti, El Salvador, and other Latin American countries under the Point 4 Program.

The new course is the first to be given in connection with the Point 4 Program. It puts primary emphasis on the understanding of foreign peoples, their cultures, history, customs, and languages.

The next course is planned for the second week in January and Point 4 Administrator Henry G. Bennett expects eventually to extend the period of orientation for all technicians over a 3-6 month period. The Foreign Service Institute has put two experienced anthropologists in charge of planning and instruction. They are Edward A. Kennard and Edward T. Hall. The American Anthropological Association is preparing a general manual for use in the course.

<sup>1</sup> Comments made at an interview with Eric Severeid, CBS commentator, over the Columbia Broadcasting System during its show, "The Challenge of the Fifties—Years of Crisis," on Dec. 31 and released to the press on the same date.



## The United Nations Faces Aggression

by Ernest A. Gross

Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations<sup>1</sup>

On June 25, 1950, international communism made plain, as the President said 2 days later, that...

"It had passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war.

The validity of this prediction has received striking confirmation by the Chinese Communist armed invasion and war against the Republic of Korea and the United Nations forces in Korea.

The United Nations is confronted now with the necessity to take decisions which relate generally to the role of the United Nations in the strategy of peace. I shall attempt to analyze some of the factors which I think must be taken into account in reaching these decisions.

The peoples of the United Nations, having formed a coalition which developed and executed a successful strategy of war, organized the United Nations as the primary mechanism for developing and executing the strategy of peace.

### Communist Revolt Against Collective Security

It has, of course, been increasingly obvious during the past 5 years that the Soviet Union, bent upon a course of Communist imperialism, would persist in its violation of the standards of conduct which the United Nations Charter establishes as the basic essentials of peace. "Aggression against the U. N." is simply one way of describing a revolt against the collective security system. Because of the refusal of Soviet communism to comply with the basic requirements of this system, it has been necessary for the free world to take strenuous measures for the maintenance of conditions in which the collective security system could survive

and take root. The Communist leadership, not content with violating its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, has even gone so far as to attack those measures which the free world found it necessary to take in order to prevent the United Nations from being destroyed by these very violations. For example, the North Atlantic Treaty, which was made necessary because of the Soviet subversion of the United Nations collective security system, is attacked by the Soviet Union as being itself a subversion of the Charter. The Soviet, therefore, attacks both the primary and secondary defenses of the collective security system.

The question is whether the United Nations is furthering, or can further, the efforts of the free world to develop the strategy of peace.

### The Need for Quick Decisions

It had seemed that the development of solidarity would be a gradual process, brought on by the business of working and planning together in the United Nations, by the use of this "center for harmonizing the actions of nations." What most of us had expected was admirably expressed by Assistant Secretary Rusk over a year ago:

If danger comes, it will be most effectively met not on the basis of reluctant decisions made under the shadow of tragic events, but on the basis of a common cause and an inescapable decision made in the long process of building a peace.

However, we now see that history may well record the survival or destruction of the United Nations precisely on the basis of its ability or inability to make "reluctant decisions under the shadow of tragic events."

It is not enough that institutions be built upon valid fundamental principles. Institutions survive only if they have the capacity to take decisions essential to their existence. It was not much more than a century ago that intense factional strife

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the American Political Science Association at Washington, D.C., on Dec. 29 and released to the press on the same date.

within our own country led John Marshall to say, after his 30 years as Chief Justice:

I yield slowly and reluctantly to the conviction that our Constitution cannot last.

It did last, because the society, whose compact it is, had the capacity to take necessary decisions.

#### **Can the U.N. Survive Attacks by a Great Power**

I believe that the fundamental decision which faces the free world members of the United Nations is whether to abandon the collective security system in the face of the large-scale rebellion against that system. The centrally directed Communist imperialism is now engaged in what may be its decisive effort to bring to its own terms the basis upon which the international order will be conducted henceforth. It has proclaimed openly by force of arms, by overt violence, and by crude threat its intention to subvert the international system as it has subverted numerous national systems in countries now reduced to vassalage. It has embarked on a course which, if successful, would leave a stunted United Nations, serving as a Soviet satellite.

There are some who say "The U. N. was never designed to cope with situations in which great powers disagree among themselves." I do not find any such limitation inherent in the United Nations Charter. It is indeed difficult to contemplate with anything but foreboding the chaos into which our international society is being plunged by the Communist revolt against the Charter. But into what darker chaos would the free world be staring if it abandoned the system of collective security which is under assault? What would be the relative positions of the large and small nations if that should occur?

#### **Purpose of Collective Security System**

The answer to this question depends upon a practical appreciation of the purposes of a collective security system. I referred at the beginning of my remarks to the fact that the United Nations was established as the primary mechanism for developing and executing the strategy of peace.

Up to this moment of history, there has, of course, never been a successful and durable strategy of peace. The mechanisms of bilateral diplomacy, military coalitions and alliances, regional groupings, organizations of states in the form of commonwealths, federations or leagues, all have succumbed, at one time or another, to attacks by aggressors who found themselves with physical means to accomplish their aggressive designs. The experience of history thus proves that the only hope of insuring that force shall not be used except in the common interest is through what the Charter describes as "the acceptance of the principles and the institution of methods" of a

collective security system. Obviously, a collective security system does not, in itself, insure peace, as the fate of the League of Nations demonstrates. The point is that the absence of a collective security system is, in itself, an invitation to aggression and, hence, will make war almost inevitable in a world in which there lurk powerful aggressors.

#### **Deterrent Value of Programs of Strength**

This should be all the more obvious to the peoples of the free world because of the fact that the United States programs of economic and military assistance are based upon precisely the same reasoning. That is to say, that weakness and disunity stand as an open temptation to the predatory to undertake quick and cheap aggressions. The program of military assistance was not based upon an absurd assumption that Western Europe could, within any foreseeable period, establish and equip a military force which, man for man or division for division, could match the armed forces of international communism. On the contrary, the Congress would have disapproved any such program not only because it would have been inherently impractical but also because it would have destroyed the economic base of Western Europe. The fundamental justification for the Military Assistance Program is that a military vacuum in Western Europe would offer to Communist aggression an open invitation to win a quick and easy victory with a minimum of risk to itself.

So, also, the North Atlantic Treaty stands as a deterrent to aggression in that, by a demonstration of unity, it increases the risk to the aggressor and, hence, decreases the risk of aggression. As the Senate Foreign Relations Committee put it in their unanimous report:

The primary objective of the Treaty is to contribute to the maintenance of peace by making clear the determination of the parties collectively to resist armed attack upon any of them. It is designed to strengthen the system of law based upon the purposes and principles of the United Nations. It should go far to remove any uncertainty which might mislead potential aggressors as to the determination of the parties fully to carry out their obligations under the Charter and collectively to resist an armed attack.

The manifest determination of the members of the United Nations collectively to resist aggression and never appease will, if anything can, similarly go far to remove any uncertainty which might mislead potential aggressors into minimizing the risks they run. This is a part of the mobilization of the resources of the free world. It is the best, if not the only, method by which many small countries can contribute to the common struggles in which their survival as free nations is at stake.

There is no doubt in my mind that it is for this very reason that Communist imperialism finds the United Nations in its way. This is why we now confront the open revolt against the Charter.

It is in this light that the free world, particularly the smaller countries, should appraise the carefully contrived Communist effort to isolate them from the United States. We are scaling the face of the cliff together, and, if we allow the rope to be cut, it will not necessarily be the largest of the group who will be the first to fall into the abyss.

#### **Identity of U.S. and U.N. Principles**

We ourselves often forget, and it is, therefore, all the more natural that even our closest friends may fail to remember, the close parallel between the principles on which our country was founded and the motives which called the United Nations into being: peace and security; the dignity and worth of the individual and the inviolability of his basic rights; equal treatment of all under impartially administered law; opportunity for advancement commensurate with ability and enterprise.

These are principles common to the United Nations Charter and to the Constitution of the United States. It is against these principles that international communism is in open rebellion. People often take for granted that, whatever the pressures, somehow, these principles will endure, both in practice in the United States and as standards for future achievement in the international society. In many parts of the world today, policies are formulated by governments and accepted by people on the basis of a conviction and a faith in the essential integrity of the United States. Criticism is directed against us not on the ground that we despoil or threaten to take away but that we do not give enough or do not share our gifts equitably. We are assailed not because we are feared but because of faults which are common to all men and which we ourselves are frequently the first to admit. Because we are not feared, we are not appeased. Yet, we would neither seek nor tolerate appeasement because we prefer to have men's respect than to have their fear.

I believe profoundly that the American way of life will survive in the world. But I think it is time for all members of the free world to understand how crucially important it is for them that it does survive. This is the essential significance of the parallel which I have drawn between the principles upon which the United States and the United Nations are based. I do not know if one can long survive the other, but I believe that the free nations cannot survive without both.

#### **Soviet Efforts To Isolate Free World From U.S.**

I referred a few moments ago to the efforts by Communist imperialism to isolate the free world from the United States. The clearest example is their carefully developed propaganda line regarding the United Nations action in Korea.

You will recall that the President said in his statement of June 27:

I know that all members of the United Nations will consider carefully the consequences of this latest aggression in Korea in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. A return to the rule of force in international affairs would have far-reaching effects. The United States will continue to uphold the rule of law.

The United Nations did consider the consequences and had the capacity to make a bold and quick decision. It was thus that the world was confronted with no Munich in Korea, and it was only thus that the United Nations survived.

In the face of this decision to uphold the rule of law against the rule of force, the Soviet propaganda machine in Asia at once began to portray the action in Korea as an "American intervention." This, of course, was intended to arouse the latent xenophobia of the Asians as well as the hatreds engendered by long periods of imperial exploitation, including that of the Russians. For American consumption, however, communism has stressed the relatively slight contribution made by other United Nations members so as to discourage American support of the United Nations effort. For European consumption, the Communist line has been that the United States efforts in Korea have detracted from the United States programs of assistance; in the Middle East and Latin America, Communist propaganda has sought to arouse hatred of the United States because we did not have assistance programs of comparable scope to those maintained in Europe.

These inherently contradictory lines have one common objective: the destruction of the collective security system.

#### **Attempt To Isolate Free World From U.S.**

Perhaps, the most revealing effort in this direction is the persistent line taken both by Moscow and Peiping that the Chinese Communists are "suspicious of American intentions in Korea." The pattern of the operation is simple.

For months, the people of China have been continuously exposed by their masters to the lie that the Americans are intervening in Korea, that we launched an attack on June 25, that we wished to establish bases in Korea, and that we plan aggression in China. During this same period, with the barbarity of method common to all police states, no other point of view has been permitted expression. The same Communist propaganda organs have worked throughout Asia, the Middle East, and other sensitive and troubled areas, building up the same false picture; that is, an alleged fear on the part of the Chinese people against American aggressive intentions.

Part of the pattern is to accompany this fabric of lies by a pretense that the intentions of no one else but the Americans are suspect. This device helps to entrap the unwary or the wishful into believing that, however vicious the methods of the aggressor, his motives might not be wholly evil.



### Efforts of Cease-Fire Group

A group of 13 Asian and Middle Eastern countries sponsored a resolution which the General Assembly adopted on December 14, 1950, with only the Russian bloc voting against it. This resolution set up a group of three persons to examine the possibility of arranging a cease-fire. The carefully coordinated Moscow-Peiping line did not rest itself upon a mere rejection of this obviously fair and honest procedure. Instead, the Soviet representative to the United Nations and later Mr. Chou En-Lai took the line that these 13 nations, while themselves desiring peace, . . .

had failed to see through the whole intrigue of the United States Government.

Mr. Chou En-Lai, therefore, called upon the group of 13 states to "free themselves from U.S. pressure," to abandon the cease-fire group of three, and to give up the idea of cease-fire first and negotiations afterwards.

The technique employed here is precisely the same as that adopted in the face of reports filed by the United Nations Commission on Korea setting forth the facts of the North Korean aggression on June 25. The Soviet representative to the United Nations repeatedly dismissed the reports of the United Nations Commission as mere products of American domination and intrigue despite the fact that the reports were signed by the 7 members of the Commission, all of whom were representing their governments in the performance of tasks assigned by the United Nations General Assembly.

### Assurances of Free World Willingness To Negotiate

We shall probably be hearing that the so-called suspicions of American intentions may be based, to some extent, on alleged uncertainty concerning our willingness to negotiate issues of concern to the Chinese Communists. We have made it clear, repeatedly and officially, that we shall do everything that we can, through whatever channels are open to us, to seek a peaceful solution of existing issues. This was most recently stated in the communiqué issued by President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee on December 8.<sup>2</sup>

In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the cease-fire group established by the General Assembly sent a message to Peiping expressing the clear understanding on their part, as well as on the part of the 12 Asian sponsors, that once a cease-fire arrangement had been achieved, negotiations regarding existing issues would be proceeded with at once and that the Peiping regime would be included in such negotiations. This message was not even referred to in the statement made by the Peiping regime on December 22 rejecting the whole effort of the cease-fire group.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1950, p. 959.

### Request to Peiping Not To Cross 38th Parallel

Mr. Chou En-Lai remained just as silent on this point as he has remained concerning the declaration adopted on December 5 by 13 Asian and Middle Eastern countries calling upon the Chinese Communists to refrain from crossing the 38th parallel. He has, perhaps, answered the latter appeal by implication. His statement of December 22, again using the familiar tactic of isolating the United Nations from the United States, refers to the "obliteration" of the 38th parallel—

When the invading troops of the United States arrogantly crossed the 38th parallel at the beginning of the month of October.

I have summarized at this length the line followed by Moscow and Peiping in the Korean question because international communism has quite obviously perceived an acute need to isolate the free world from the United States in the Korean case, representing as it does the high-water mark up of the revolt against the collective security system.

I do not think this attempt to corrupt the moral unity of the free world will succeed. There is little danger that the members of the free world will forget the importance of the action boldly taken and loudly cheered on June 25. The military set-back which has ensued from the massive Chinese aggression does not in any way detract from the morality and fundamental wisdom of the action taken by the United Nations on June 25. This action was essential in order to preserve the collective security system, which would otherwise have fallen apart into fragments.

### Collective Security or Chaos

The determination to resist aggression, shown on June 25, made it necessary for Communist imperialism to take a much graver risk in order to pursue its aggressive designs. The risk does not only involve the mobilization of a huge war effort, with a consequent diminution of the public services so badly needed by the Chinese people, it also involves a risk of consequences, the gravity of which is still incalculable. These risks to the aggressors will grow—not diminish—if the collective security system maintains itself intact, preserves its moral position, and strengthens itself with all the measures of self-sacrifice that may be required. The United Nations must, of course, prudently calculate the tactics of time, place, and method in its pursuit of the strategy of peace. But it will become clearer, as adversity increases, that, although a collective security system will not insure peace, the disappearance of the collective security system would be a certain invitation to disaster far exceeding even the great threat which now hangs over civilization.

## **Review of Relations With Near East, South Asia, and Africa**

*Statement by George C. McGhee  
Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian  
and African Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

Normally, we Americans, as the year draws to a close, like to look back over what has happened, to recall with pleasure the brighter days, and perhaps to push back in our memory the darker ones. But, as this year comes to an end, no thinking person can dismiss from his mind the gravity of the events that have cast their shadow on the lives of people all over the world. No thinking person can look into the future with complete confidence. We can, however, look back over the recent past and select those factors on which we can build constructively in the days to come.

When we review the cumulative developments of the past year in the countries of the Near East, South Asia, and Africa—I believe we find some indications which offer encouragement for the future. These are three:

progress in the strengthening of our relations with these countries;  
progress toward their own political and economic development;  
progress toward a more realistic understanding of the true nature of the danger that confronts the free world.

### **Relations With Other Countries**

First, our relations with these countries—both our diplomatic relations and our less formal contacts—have grown stronger and more friendly. In the past, there has, unfortunately, been suspicion on the part of some peoples of the world of the United States and its motives. There have been charges of American imperialism, charges of discrimination against certain peoples and of partiality for one state at the expense of another.

The year is closing, I am confident, with a deeper measure of understanding of our objectives. I feel sure that we, in turn, have come to a better appreciation of the aspirations of other peoples. This growth of mutual understanding has been greatly increased by numerous visits of high government officials. It has been strengthened by the many visits of teachers and students, of technicians, journalists, and professional people. We attach high value to this interchange, not only because it furthers the flow of knowledge in both directions but also because of the personal friendships which are made. It is through such channels that we have been able to make ourselves known to the peoples of the Near East, South Asia, and Africa. It is through such channels that we have both come

to realize that our basic aims are identical—that we both desire to improve our way of life and to live in peace, with security against subversion or aggression. The strengthening of our relations through recognition of the mutuality of our interests is an important foundation on which we are building.

### **Economic Progress of Other Countries**

A second element which we welcome is the progress which the Near East, South Asia, and African peoples have made in economic and political betterment. These countries are demonstrating a growing determination to apply the principle of self-help in achieving their own development. It has been gratifying to us that we have been able to extend assistance in several ways—through economic assistance under the ECA; through support of applications for International Bank loans; and through loans from our own Export-Import Bank. Programs of technical assistance are now underway in many countries. Technical assistance agreements have been concluded with Liberia, Iran, Ceylon, and India, and negotiation of several other such agreements is well-advanced. All of these programs, which are being undertaken on the initiative of these countries will improve the well-being of their peoples.

We have also seen progress in political development. To choose at random, we have seen it in the democratic elections in Egypt and Turkey; in the progress toward creation of a new independent state in Libya; in the growth of constitutional government in Jordan. We have seen it generally in the remarkable growth of political institutions in the new states of the area—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Israel—and in the resolute way in which these states have assumed full responsibility for the conduct of their domestic and international affairs. This progress toward development of freedom and strength is a second constructive trend on which to build.

### **Restoring Peace Through the U.N.**

Finally, the countries of the Near East, South Asia, and Africa have demonstrated their desire to work for the restoration and maintenance of peace through the United Nations. While there have been some divergencies as to methods of solving the difficult international problems which confront the world, these nations have been united—with us and with the free world as a whole—in common agreement on objectives.

We are confident that our friends will increasingly direct their attention to the main problem which confronts them, even as it confronts us. We are confident that they will put aside the relatively minor differences between themselves, all of which are capable of solution through the exercise of restraint and wisdom,—so that they will be

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the Voice of America on Dec. 28 and released to the press on the same date.

able to meet the paramount problem we all face—the problem of assuring our continued survival as free nations. Out of this new awareness, this growing appreciation of the one great danger which confronts the world, the danger of Soviet imperialism, is developing a new hope for closer collaboration. We seek, at the same time, the creation of an international climate in which all peoples can play their part and can realize, to the maximum extent possible, their individual and national aspirations.

The growth of mutual understanding, the economic and political progress of free peoples, and a realistic appreciation of the nature of the danger which we are facing together—on these we can build, indeed we must build, for our common survival in the years ahead.

### **The OAS—Expression of Hemisphere Law and Order**

*Statement by Edward G. Miller  
Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs<sup>1</sup>*

We have reached the midpoint of the twentieth century. We are about to embark on the second stretch, leading to the year 2000. Probably, in all the 1,950 years of the Christian era, there has never before been a month in which the world—as nations and as individuals—was as fully aware as we are, here and now, of the extent to which our personal lives are affected by the stress and tension of international conflict. Undoubtedly, there has, never before, been such determination on the part of so many nations to stand together and work together in withstanding that stress. The existence of the United Nations is positive proof. Within the United Nations, a cornerstone of the whole, the Organization of American States (OAS), four-square and staunch, represents Western Hemisphere solidarity in a shaken world.

#### **Solidarity of Western Hemisphere**

In all sincerity, I believe that our 21 Republics afford an example that should inspire and hearten other regions of the earth. The Americas have proved that countries can discuss their common problems at a common council table and find pacific solutions on a basis of perfect equality and complete respect. I am convinced that our hemisphere New World pattern affords a pattern for a global New World.

In a world shaken by conflict, there is, in the Americas, peace among nations. Disagreements and misunderstandings occur from time to time, but there is wise provision for dealing with them. A most important advance in hemisphere solidar-

ity was achieved when the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was signed 3 years ago at Rio de Janeiro. This treaty is a pact for the common defense of the American nations, standing together, an impenetrable bulwark of collective freedom. According to it, each is outpost and guardian for itself and its sister states. It is our mutual pledge to cooperate in maintaining regional order and in repelling aggression. The workability of this Rio treaty was reemphasized this year when it was applied to dissensions in the Caribbean area and led to their peaceful solution.

In January of the present year, the United States inaugurated periodical conferences of its diplomatic representatives to the other American Republics. These meetings reaffirm the interest of our Government in the inter-American system and in the Organization of American States as the highest expression of hemisphere law and order.

The present year has been marked also by important developments respecting treaties through which our country helps build solidarity. These include approval by the Senate of the charter of the Organization of American States. This charter, which supplies the structural pattern of the inter-American system, was signed in the form of an inter-American treaty at the Ninth Conference of American States. Other important treaty enactments of our own Government during the past year include the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Economic Development with Uruguay and the Cultural Convention with Brazil.

Early in 1950, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, at an extraordinary session at Washington, agreed to set up a special board and budget to handle technical cooperation among our 21 Republics. This involves basic research on such problems as population, material resources, agriculture, fuel and power, labor, mining, fiscal policy, and transportation. It means that the American Republics will engage in joint endeavor to solve these problems.

In the wider field of world policy, the American Republics asserted both their own solidarity and their support of the United Nations by their swift, unanimous resolution in condemnation of aggression against the Republic of Korea and by their tenacious defense of the United Nations' positions with respect to that aggression.

Our own Government has recently suggested to the other nations of this hemisphere that a meeting of consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs be held in the near future. In so doing, we are seeking means to give expression to what is, I am sure, the common determination of our 21 countries to hold fast to that freedom and democracy upon which all the American Republics are founded and which, please God, individually and collectively, we shall continue to cherish and defend.

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the Voice of America on Dec. 28 and released to the press on the same date.



## American Efforts To Meet Threats of Aggression

*Statement by George W. Perkins*

*Assistant Secretary for European Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

Last week, a report from Moscow said that the people of the United States were increasing their demands for peace. For once, the Kremlin was speaking the truth.

Of course, I fully realize that the Communist leaders had a very special reason for making such a statement. They wanted to alarm the people of free Europe. They wanted to plant fear in the minds of Europeans by implying that America would soon return to isolationism.

They wanted to give the impression that America would not stand together with other nations for their common defense against aggression. This is a standard Soviet propaganda trick. They want to break down the unity of the people of the free world.

But let us return to the statement from Moscow about Americans increasing their demands for peace. That is quite true. And the easiest way to prove it is to look at the actions the Americans have taken for peace.

In 1945, the United States had a military force of more than 12 million men and women. The war had ended, and our military forces were brought back home and demobilized.

Did the Kremlin leaders demobilize? No, they did not. They kept large forces under arms to permit them to make satellites of several neighboring countries and fasten their control on many millions of people.

### Steps To Prevent Aggression

Their actions threatened world peace once more. This was contrary to the deepest longings of all the peoples of the world—particularly the people of the Soviet Union, who know so well the horrors of war. Nevertheless, the Kremlin took the road that leads to aggression. So, the American people, anxious to prevent war, took steps to prevent this threat by working with others who felt as they did.

First, the American people sent aid to Greece and Turkey when it became obvious that Moscow wanted to add those two countries to its growing collection of satellites.

Next, the American people approved the Marshall Plan of aid to Europe. In fact, the American people were so anxious to help recreate a peaceful world that they also offered Marshall Plan aid to the Russian people and the people of Eastern Europe. But the Kremlin refused, and ordered

its satellites to do the same thing. The Communist followers of the Kremlin in France, Italy, and elsewhere have been trying to sabotage all efforts to reconstruct a peaceful world ever since.

To meet the continuing Soviet threat of aggression, the people of America then concluded that they must join with other countries to preserve peace. So, they approved a plan to coordinate and combine the defense efforts of the North Atlantic countries to preserve peace.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has become a reality. The American people have agreed for the first time in history to participate with other free European nations in collective defense. In accordance with the United Nations Charter, 12 free nations have started to combine their national defense efforts. Their sole objective is to preserve peace by showing a firm determination to resist armed attack. The character of the NATO is defensive. Its goal is peace.

At the start of these preparations, this past year, an attack was launched against the Republic of Korea. We all know what happened there on last June 25. We all know how swiftly the United Nations responded to this act of aggression. We all know that, when the United Nations asked the Kremlin to intervene in North Korea on behalf of peace, the Kremlin said, "No." We all know that, when the United Nations tried to negotiate with the Communists on the Korea incident, the Communists refused. We all know that, every time the United Nations has taken a vote for peace, the Soviet bloc has voted against.

When Communist aggression became even more flagrant and more formidable in Korea, the American people immediately approved a new and much bigger program to enable them to do more to defend the peace of the free world. Much equipment has already been sent to free Europe. The volume of such deliveries will be much bigger during the coming year.

Last week at Brussels, the Atlantic Pact nations decided to unite their defense forces under a single commander—General Eisenhower. For the first time in history, free nations of the world are organizing a combined defense force under a common commander in chief before an attack instead of after. We all believe that such advance preparations will serve as a warning to any potential aggressor. We know for certain that without any such defense preparations the aggressor would feel free to start war by attack and that he would do so, sooner or later. The American people have agreed, as I mentioned a few moments ago, to increase their own efforts and to have larger forces and to produce more material for defense and mutual aid. The other member nations are also increasing their efforts to defend the peace.

Let me say once again. The people of the world want peace. The people behind the iron curtain, who are now cut off from the free world by their rulers, share with us the dread of war.

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the Voice of America on Dec. 26 and released to the press on Dec. 28.

This is Christmas time. It is the time when the people of America, together with the other people of the free world, are united in prayers for peace. I want to tell you that at this time, as always, the American people are striving to maintain peace throughout the world. They are willing to do much themselves, and they are willing to work together with others who would join with them to bring the rule of peace and good will to this earth.

## Our Contributions to the Peace

*Statement by Dean Rusk*

*Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs*<sup>1</sup>

As 1950 draws to a close, the American people have a right to be proud of a policy which, during the five postwar years, has concerned itself with the building of the peace, the advance of human liberty, and the raising of the standards of living of men and women in every quarter of the globe.

We have attempted by every possible means to make our contribution to the peace. We have made concessions up to the limits of conscience in an effort to reach workable agreements.

Our foreign policy has been reflected in our willingness to submit atomic weapons to international control, in feeding and clothing those stricken by the war, in supporting free elections and government by consent, in building factories and dams, power plants and railways, schools and hospitals, in improving seed and stock and fertilizer, in stimulating markets, and improving the skills and techniques of others in a hundred different ways.

Let these things stand in contrast to a foreign policy directed toward the extension of tyranny and using the big lie, sabotage, suspicion, riot, and assassination as its tools.

The great strength of the United States is devoted to the peaceful pursuits of our own people and to the decent opinions of mankind. But it is not healthy for any regime or group of regimes to incur, by their lawless and aggressive conduct, the implacable opposition of the American people.

The lawbreaker, unfortunately, in the nature of things, always has the initiative, but the peace-loving peoples of the world can and will make themselves strong enough to insist upon peace.

### Collective Security in the Far East

In the situation facing us at the year's end, our position, in the final analysis, rests upon the fact that, if the Chinese Communist regime desires

peace with the rest of the world and is primarily concerned with the welfare of China and not with the advancement of Bolshevik interests or the extension of control over neighboring countries, then, specific problems at issue will fall naturally into perspective and can be solved by peaceful means. But, if this is not the desire of the Chinese Communists, if in fact they are dedicated to the overthrow of the national governments of the other Asian states and the destruction of the free world along orthodox Bolshevik lines, then, attempts to solve specific issues will prove futile.

From the time the Chinese Communists moved from subversion to the open conquest of China, they used every opportunity to single out Americans and American interests as special objects of their animosity. By outrageous treatment of our representatives in disregard of all civilized standards, by encouragement of extortionate demands and riotous action on the part of local employees of our consular offices, by arbitrary and illegal seizure of United States official property, the Chinese Communists made plain that they were determined to drive us from their midst.

The reasons are simple. We believe in the political integrity of China. They seem willing to dismember China to suit the Kremlin's interests. We believe in freedom. They have brought tyranny. And the seeds of freedom in their midst were more than they could tolerate.

We have a long record of sympathy for China and have demonstrated our belief that genuine Chinese and American interests are the same, that we have no desire to seek a voice in the internal affairs of China, that we intend to observe scrupulously the political independence and territorial integrity of China.

The plain fact is that, given Chinese Communist intentions as now revealed, the danger of the present serious situation could have been avoided only by submission to aggression, but that would produce even greater dangers to the rest of the world. It could not have been avoided by any action on the part of the United Nations or the United States short of acquiescence in the elimination of the Republic of Korea. That would have destroyed, finally, the principle of collective security and would have left the United Nations moribund.

The Chinese Communists took part in the preparations for the treacherous North Korean assault long before it was actually launched. A large portion of the North Korean forces that drove across the 38th parallel last June had come from China. Many had been transferred to Korea during the preceding year, some just a few weeks before. More followed. And we also now know that considerable Soviet military equipment for the North Korean forces was shipped through Manchuria, with the heaviest shipments, including aircraft, taking place in April and May of

<sup>1</sup> Broadcast over the Voice of America on Dec. 29 and released to the press on the same date.

this year prior to the aggression. The bulk of the Chinese Communist forces which intervened in Korea in October were units of the Communists' Fourth Field Army which previously had been stationed in South China but which started moving North to the Korean border before the outbreak of hostilities. There can be no doubt now but that the Chinese Communists, from the very start, had every intention of intervening actively should North Korean forces fail in their mission to seize all of Korea.

As President Truman said after his conferences with Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, we have no intention of getting out of Korea. We put our forces in Korea in support of the United Nations Security Council resolutions. Their mission has not changed. We will not get out voluntarily.

We have no territorial ambitions of our own. We seek no special position or privilege in the Far East or elsewhere in the world.

We believe that surrender to Chinese Communist terrorization would speedily be followed by further Chinese Communist encroachment, directly or indirectly, on the other nations on its borders.

The tendency to excuse the conduct of Peiping reflects the success of Communist propaganda in playing upon the hopes of peaceful men. It's an old technique—but one which fails because the action of the aggressor is more convincing than his lies. For it is now unmistakable to anyone that, while the acts staged by Peiping are Chinese, the puppet master is Soviet.

If there was ever any doubt that the Communist imperialists were prepared to use armed force to secure their ends, there is no reason for doubt any more. If there was ever any doubt that Communist talk of peace was a mask for their aggressive plans, that doubt was banished when the Chinese Communists, faithfully echoing the voice of their masters, rejected the peace appeal of the 13 Asian and Arab nations with outspoken contempt.

So, the year ends without peace, but not without hope that peace can yet be achieved by free men joining their strength together as a bulwark against the threat which faces them.

One thing is sure. For the first time in history, the world of free nations—54 free nations—has acted together for the common defense. Collective security is no mere dream. It is a practical necessity for every man and woman in the world. The brotherhood of man that knows no race has been given visible meaning in the year that is ending.

The free peoples of the world, standing shoulder to shoulder in the trying days that are ahead of us, need only recall that the pages of history are littered with the wreckage of empires that sought to rule the world. Let this thought give them courage and sustain them in the belief that their glorious goal of preserving freedom for themselves and for mankind is not an impossible one.

## Answer to Soviet Questions on Principles for Japanese Treaty

[Released to the press December 28]

*The following aide-memoire, dated December 27, was delivered to J. A. Malik, Soviet representative to the United Nations, at New York.*

On November 20 of this year, Mr. Malik presented to Mr. Dulles an aide-memoire expressing the desire of the Soviet Government for clarification of a number of points in a tentative United States statement of principles respecting a Japanese peace treaty given Mr. Malik by Mr. Dulles on October 26.<sup>1</sup> After careful study of the Soviet aide-memoire of November 20, the United States Government has concluded that most of the questions raised by the Soviet Government have, in fact, been answered by the statement of principles given to Mr. Malik on October 26. However, in order to dispel any possible misunderstanding, the points raised by the Soviet Government are further discussed as follows:

1. The United States Government hopes that all nations at war with Japan will participate in the conclusion of peace. The United States does not, however, concede that any one nation has a perpetual power to veto the conclusion by others of peace with Japan. The wartime declaration of January 1, 1942, referred to by the Soviet Union, was designed to assure that all nations at war with Japan, or with the other Axis powers or their associates, would continue to fight until victory had been won. That they did. The United States does not accept the thesis, often put forward by the Soviet Union, that there cannot be peace except on terms that one power dictates. Japan, after its defeat, has now for over five years loyally complied with the agreed terms of surrender and is entitled to peace. The United States should be glad to know whether it is the view of the Soviet Union that there can never be any peace with Japan unless terms can be found which are fully satisfactory to each one of the 47 nations which signed or adhered to the Declaration of January 1, 1942.

2. The Cairo Declaration of 1943 stated the purpose to restore "Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores to the Republic of China". That Declaration, like other wartime declarations such as those of Yalta and Potsdam, was in the opinion of the United States Government subject to any final peace settlement where all relevant factors should be considered. The United States cannot accept the view, apparently put forward by the Soviet Government, that the views of other Allies not represented at Cairo must be wholly ignored. Also, the United States believes that declarations such as that issued at Cairo must necessarily be considered in the light of the United Nations

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 4, 1950, p. 881.



Charter, the obligations of which prevail over any other international agreement.

3. The United States Government does not understand the reference by the Soviet Union to "territorial expansion" in connection with the suggestion that the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands might be placed under the United Nations trusteeship system, with the United States as administering authority. Article 77 of the United Nations Charter expressly contemplated the extension of the trusteeship system to "territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War" and certainly the trusteeship system is not to be equated with "territorial expansion."

The Government of the United States also does not understand the suggestion of the Soviet Union that, because the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands are not mentioned in either the Cairo Declaration or the Potsdam Agreement, their consideration in the peace settlement is automatically excluded. The Government of the Soviet Union seems to have ignored the fact that the Potsdam Declaration provided that Japanese sovereignty should be limited to the four main islands, which were named, and "such minor islands as we determine." It is, therefore, strictly in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement that the peace settlement should determine the future status of these other islands.

4. It is the view of the United States Government that, upon conclusion of a peace settlement, the military occupation of Japan would cease. The fact that a "new order of peace, security and justice," as envisaged in the Potsdam Declaration, has not been established, and that irresponsible militarism has not been driven from the world, would at the same time make it reasonable for Japan to participate with the United States and other nations in arrangements for individual and collective self-defense, such as are envisaged by the United Nations Charter and particularly Article 51 thereof. These arrangements could include provision for the stationing in Japan of troops of the United States and other nations.

The United States does not propose for Japan a peace settlement which will deny to Japan what Prime Minister Stalin has described (March 10, 1939) as "the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors."

5. Referring to a policy decision of the Far Eastern Commission, which decisions have been commonly considered to be legally operative only for the period of the occupation except as the substance of particular provisions may be embodied in the peace settlement, the Soviet Government raises two questions relating to the security of Japan after the conclusion of a peace treaty.

Both questions are answered by paragraph 4 of the statement of principles handed to Mr. Malik on October 26 and by the comment thereon expressed above.

6. The United States considers that the Japanese peace treaty should not limit the Japanese peacetime economy nor deny Japan access to sources of raw material or participation in world trade. The United States, without awaiting the formal conclusion of peace, has made very large financial grants to Japan to enable it to acquire food and raw materials needed for its economic livelihood and has encouraged the establishment by Japan of trade promotion offices in many parts of the world in an effort to help Japan to develop a prosperous peacetime economy and steadily advance the living standards of the Japanese people.

7. The present conversations are being conducted by the United States through diplomatic channels and, as the Soviet Union well knows, the Government of the United States has no diplomatic relations with the so-called "Government of the Chinese People's Republic".

It is the earnest hope of the United States that the close attention which the Government of the Soviet Union has given to the peace proposals of the United States in relation to Japan signifies the desire and intention of the Soviet Union not only to enter into discussions of a peace treaty for Japan but to act in cooperation with other nations at war with Japan to make peace a reality.

## **Proposed Agenda for Meeting of American Foreign Ministers**

*[Released to the press December 29]*

At a meeting this afternoon of the Special Preparatory Committee, appointed by the Council of the Organization of American States to recommend the date, agenda, and regulations of the forthcoming consultative meeting of American Foreign Ministers, the representative of the United States, John C. Dreier, proposed that the agenda of this meeting include the following topics:

I. Political and Military Cooperation for the Defense of the Americas in Support of the Efforts of the Free World to Prevent and Repel Aggression.

II. Cooperation to Strengthen the Internal Security of the American Republics.

III. Emergency Economic Cooperation.

A. Production and Distribution for Defense Purposes.  
B. Basic Requirements of Civilian Economies for Products in Short Supply.

The United States representative also suggested that the meeting of consultation take place in mid-March.

In accordance with the decision of the Council of the Organization of American States on December 20, the Committee will make recommendations to the Council concerning the date, agenda, and regulations. When approved by the Council, these recommendations will be sent to the Governments of the 21 American Republics.

## Point 4 Agreement With India

[Released to the press December 28]

India, today, concluded a Point 4 agreement with the United States.<sup>1</sup> Technical Cooperation Administrator Henry G. Bennett announced the signing at Delhi of a general Point 4 agreement by United States Ambassador Loy Henderson and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Secretary General of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

"The new Point 4 agreement with India," said Dr. Bennett, "creates a magnificent opportunity for two great nations to work together for their mutual progress and well-being."

"The Point 4 method of technical cooperation," said Dr. Bennett, "is the best, the most realistic, and the most practical way of bringing our two peoples closer together in growing understanding and respect. We are working with the Government of India to get a concrete, well-rounded program underway as quickly as possible."

The general or "umbrella" agreement signed today provides the framework into which agreements for specific technical cooperation projects will fit. It is similar in content to the agreement recently concluded with the Government of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> It sets forth the general conditions of cooperation, including both the provision of the services of American experts and the technological training of Indian nationals.

The signing of the general agreement paves the way for expansion of the Point 4 Program in South Asia. The Government of India is submitting to the United States Government a comprehensive proposal for Point 4 projects in the fields of agriculture, river valley development, and transportation, which will be jointly considered and agreed upon by the two Governments. In connection with these projects, it is expected that more than 150 leading Indian experts and technicians will come to the United States during the next 2 years for consultation and advanced study.

Since the Point 4 Program was authorized by Congress last June, five specific projects for India have been approved. Administrator Bennett has tentatively allocated 1.2 million dollars of Point 4 funds for these and other projects which may be approved in the current fiscal year.

Three of the five approved projects are already underway. Two are agricultural projects; the third is in the field of child welfare.

One of the agricultural projects, concentrating on food supply, is headed by Horace Holmes of

North Carolina, who recently returned to India after serving for 2 years as adviser to the Indian Government. On that assignment, Mr. Holmes worked with the farmers in a 100 square mile area around Mahewa, United Provinces, demonstrating the use of improved seed, crop rotation, and simple farm machinery. As a result of this program, the wheat yield of the area was increased 63 percent, and the potato crop was more than doubled. These achievements have awakened the interest and cooperation of farmers for hundreds of miles around. Mr. Holmes also cooperated with the Government of India on adult education and village improvement programs in the United Provinces. He returned at the express request of the Government to continue his work under the Point 4 Program.

In addition to Mr. Holmes, two agricultural specialists are at New Delhi as consultants to the Indian Minister of Agriculture. Earle K. Rambo, well-known for his work as University of Arkansas Extension Agricultural Engineer, is cooperating with the Indian Government's program to bring greater mechanization into its agriculture.

Ford M. Milam, an agronomist with recent agricultural experience in El Salvador and Korea, is working with the Indian Government on agricultural research problems.

An American child health and welfare expert, Miss Deborah Pentz of San Francisco, was assigned last July to the University of New Delhi. Miss Pentz is working with the University in setting up a basic course in child welfare education.

The two other projects, approved but not yet in operation, call for the sending of three United States geologists to India.

One of them is George C. Taylor, Jr., distinguished ground water specialist of the United States Interior Department's Geological Survey. Dr. Taylor was in India last May on a short reconnaissance survey, and will return there early in 1951.

Dr. Taylor has made geological investigations in Panama, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Haiti, the Virgin Islands, Chile, Thailand, and India. On his present assignment, he will work with the Indian Government's Geology Survey in the development of ground water resources.

Another geologist specializing in the selection of dam sites and the use of ground water resources will be assigned to this project.

The second geological project is concerned with the development of mineral resources in India. John A. Straczek, on the staff of the Geological Survey, Department of Interior, since 1938, will leave for India early in February to undertake this assignment.

<sup>1</sup> For text of the agreement, see Department of State press release 1261 of Dec. 28.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Dec. 18, 1950, p. 975.

## Impartial Commission To Investigate the Prisoners of War Question

### STATEMENT BY EDITH S. SAMPSON<sup>1</sup>

The resolution on prisoners of war, which we have been discussing, presents in formal language a deeply human problem: the fate of hundreds of thousands of people taken prisoner during the last war who are still unaccounted for and who have not returned to their homes and families.

We join with the United Kingdom and Australia in asking the General Assembly to set up an impartial commission to assist those governments who desire its assistance in finding out what has happened to these people, report their fate to their families, and to assist in repatriating those who are still alive.

I would like to deal briefly with three questions which go to the heart of the matter. First, why do we bring this problem to the United Nations? Second, what are the obligations of governments having charge of prisoners of war? Third, what is the record 5 years after the war?

### Solicitation of United Nations for Aid

The first question is: Why do we bring this problem to the United Nations?

The United States, in cooperation with other governments, has patiently tried by negotiation and agreement ever since the end of the war to get a full accounting and to arrange for the return of prisoners to their homes. As the record—regarding German and Japanese prisoners—read out to you by the representatives of the United Kingdom and Australia shows so clearly, agreements were made, dates set, reports requested, promises given time after time. And the end of all those efforts was a Soviet press report claiming that, with the exception of a few thousand

prisoners they were holding in connection with alleged war crimes and a handful of sick persons, all had been returned.

Even after that announcement—May 4 of this year, in the case of the German prisoners of war—the United States, the United Kingdom, and France addressed a detailed note to the Soviet Union, seeking settlement of the problem.<sup>2</sup> In that note of July 14, 1950, the three Governments asked for an investigation by an impartial international body “in order that the actual fate of the prisoners of war known to have been in Soviet custody may be ascertained.” They suggested “an *ad hoc* commission designated by the United Nations, or a group composed of representatives of the Four Powers now occupying Germany, or representatives of neutral powers, or any other group mutually acceptable,” to get at the true facts. You can see the full document listed as annex X, document A/1339.

Please note that it took the Soviet authorities 78 days to reply, which they did on September 30. And then, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. merely stood by the TASS statement of May 4 and refused to consider the matter further.

After the Soviet Government made the astounding announcement that it had completed the repatriation of German prisoners of war, the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, meeting at London, jointly pledge to take—and I quote—

... all possible steps to obtain information bearing on the fate of prisoners of war and civilians not yet repatriated from the Soviet Union and to bring about repatriation in the largest possible number of cases.

We feel obliged by this pledge to bring this issue involving so many hundreds of thousands of people to the United Nations as the place of last resort.

<sup>1</sup> Made before Committee III (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) on Dec. 5 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date. Miss Sampson is an alternate U.S. representative to the General Assembly.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of July 24, 1950, p. 132.



This is, obviously, the kind of problem which complicates and embitters international relations. Families, anxious over the fate of their loved ones, can hardly be expected not to protest. Until the facts are clearly and impartially established, they will continue to organize, agitate, and appeal on this issue.

The United States joins with others in bringing this matter before the General Assembly because we believe that the facts, whatever they are, should be known, and this issue put to rest.

As one of the occupying powers of Japan and Germany, we bring it here also out of a sense of responsibility to the peoples of those countries.

We bring it here because the international community has a deep and unavoidable responsibility for human rights—in the unexplained disappearance of large numbers of human beings. Like the problems of refugees, of the practice of genocide, of protecting and repatriating children, and of the observance of human rights, we are confronted here with the questions of what value we place upon human life.

I would add another reason for bringing the case here, a reason which appeals to me very personally. I believe we all have an obligation to express the moral sense of responsibility of the peoples in our respective countries. Millions of people in all countries, who are not in any way connected with these particular prisoners of war, can feel and understand the suffering of others.

They cannot be disinterested in what we, as their representatives, do about this human problem. Those who themselves have suffered and struggled hardest for their human rights will feel this situation most acutely. They know that the rights of all men are involved in the struggle for the rights of any group of men. If they know the facts, free peoples everywhere will persist in pressing for a just solution.

Yet, in bringing this resolution to the General Assembly, we do not propose that the United Nations pass a judgment or condemn. We propose a fair and impartial commission to study the facts, to check on the evidence and the records, and to assist in resolving the controversy. How could fair-minded people possibly reject this time-honored method of dealing with important differences in international relations? This is exactly the type of service which the United Nations was established to perform for the international community.

The other Allies in the war made use of international agencies to supervise repatriation and the accounting of war prisoners from beginning to end. If the Soviets had done this, they would not have to ask the world to take their word—their unsupported word alone—on what has happened to the thousands of prisoners.

It is not only in the interest of the international community, but in the interest of the Soviet Union itself to satisfy the demands of the millions of rela-

tives and friends from many countries for a trustworthy and impartial accounting of these prisoners.

And so, Mr. Chairman, we have brought this problem to the General Assembly after exhausting every means of direct negotiation, because we have an obligation to the families of the prisoners, because it involves human rights, which is a major concern of the United Nations, and because we wish to terminate controversy and friction on this issue by using the facilities of the United Nations for peaceful adjustment and settlement.

#### **Obligations for Protection of War Victims**

Now what are the obligations of the governments having charge of prisoners of war? My colleagues of the United Kingdom and Australia have already referred to the obligations under international agreements for the protection of war victims—the Hague convention of 1907, the Geneva Red Cross and prisoners-of-war conventions of 1929, and the four Geneva conventions of 1949.

These generally accepted principles of humanity and international law provide that information regarding captures, serious illness, and deaths shall be immediately reported to the home countries and thus to the families of the prisoners of war, and that prisoners of war may communicate with their loved ones regularly.

According to these international agreements a protecting power, chosen by the home country and representatives of humanitarian organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may go behind the barbed wire to see and report the actual conditions of the prisoners of war. These impartial neutrals assist in maintaining contact between the prisoner of war and his home country.

The only legitimate reason for taking prisoners of war is to prevent them from participating further in the conflict. It is evident, therefore, that once the conflict has ended there is no further legitimate reason for holding them—and that they should be repatriated.

To this end, both the Geneva prisoners-of-war conventions of 1929 and 1949 provided for the repatriation of prisoners of war as soon as possible after hostilities have terminated. That such repatriation should be effected is disputed by no one.

In 1942, Foreign Minister Molotov, referring to German mistreatment of Russian prisoners, had this to say:

In spite of all this the Soviet Government, true to the principles of humanity and respect for its international obligations, does not intend, even in the given circumstances, to use retaliatory, repressive measures in respect to German prisoners of war, and, as in the past, is adhering to the obligations accepted by the Soviet Government in respect to the prisoners of war regime of the Hague convention of 1907, which was also signed by

Germany, but was so treacherously violated in all its points.<sup>3</sup>

Some months after the end of the war, October 12, 1945, to be exact, the Soviet news agency made an announcement in Berlin, promising—

... the exchange of letters between German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union and their relatives in Germany.

It says further, and I quote,

To how many families and homes this news will bring new hope and joy! Wives, mothers and fathers, who, during the years of war, have received the sad message "missing in action," will now look forward to the coming of the postman. Maybe he is still alive.

The trouble is that the postman, in far too many cases, did not ring twice. After receiving one letter bringing that "new hope and joy," thousands of families never heard anything more. Or months would pass by, and, then, some repatriated prisoner would bring word to a family that he had seen their relative in some distant labor camp.

There was one promise in that Soviet announcement of 1945 to which I want to draw your particular attention. I quote:

The German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union were and still are treated following the international law of humanity. Nothing is neglected that can guarantee a safe return.

I am sure that if they had lived up to that promise they would be eager now to prove it to the world through some kind of impartial commission.

Mr. Chairman, there is no need to labor the point. The Soviet Government accepted the obligations toward prisoners of war. This would indicate that the U.S.S.R. has nothing to conceal. And yet, all reasonable requests to look into the fulfillment of these obligations have been refused.

#### **The Situation From Statistics**

This brings me to the third question: What is the record 5 years after the war?

You have that record, in considerable detail with facts and figures spelled out, in the statements presented by the United Kingdom and Australia.

You know by the record that the Soviet Government was the only party to the Moscow agreement of April 1947, which failed to repatriate German prisoners by the agreed deadline of December 31, 1948. The U.S.S.R. admitted this on January 24, 1949, when it stated that prisoners of war in its custody would be repatriated during 1949.

They did return many prisoners during 1949 and up to May 4, 1950, when that startling announcement in TASS was made. Except for some 13,000 held in connection with so-called war

crimes or due to illness, TASS announced, and I quote:

The repatriation of German prisoners of war from the Soviet Union to Germany is now completely finished.

Compare that to this fact: A careful registration of German prisoners of war and other missing persons was conducted in the Federal territory of Germany and West Berlin during March of this year. That record lists by name unreturned prisoners of war from whom or about whom definite word has been received since the end of the war. They were alive; they have not been accounted for; and the number on that minimum list is almost 5 times greater than the total which the Soviets admitted they were holding for war crimes and due to illness.

It is unreasonable to ask for an impartial report on what happened to them.

Add this fact. From reports patiently gathered from repatriates, the German authorities have close estimates on the number of prisoners of war left behind in many of the camps when the last prisoners were released. This number, too, is many times the total admittedly held.

Are we to conclude that all of these people have since died?

The Soviet Government claimed during and immediately after the war that they had captured between 3 and 4 million Germans. Its official figures show captures of more than 2 million German prisoners of war during 1945 alone. In announcing the completion of repatriation of German prisoners of war in May 1950, the Soviet Government stated that it had returned some 1.9 million. It, therefore, appears that the Soviet Government has failed to account for a total number of German prisoners of war equivalent to the number captured during the years 1941, -42, -43, and -44.

Did they all die—a million or more? If so, why were their deaths not reported?

The record is full of details on harsh conditions in Soviet prisoners-of-war camps. Conservative estimates indicate a high death rate in such camps. However, many thousands of these more than a million prisoners unaccounted for must still be alive.

We hope and believe they are. We cannot, in all conscience, allow such huge numbers of human beings to disappear from the earth without a trace. If they are all dead, let us know it now and relieve their relatives of further anxiety.

The figures on Japanese prisoners are much more specific and comprehensive. You have heard the record, as read out by the representative of Australia, a record based on the Potsdam Declaration providing for the return of military personnel to Japan, and the SCAP-U.S.S.R. repatriation agreement of December 19, 1946, which included civilians as well.

You have heard the story of the frustrations

<sup>3</sup> *Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union During the Fatherland War*, vol. I, Moscow, 1946, p. 268.

and delays which accompanied this program, of the tireless efforts of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, of the transportation made available, of the provisions made for the reception of repatriates according to plan. The delays and excuses became so exasperating that even the Central Executive Committee of the Japanese Communist Party and deputies in the Diet felt compelled to join the clamor for the return of Japanese held by the Soviet authorities.

The Japanese Government states on the basis of exhaustive surveys and detailed statistics that at least 369,382 persons are still unrepatriated and unaccounted for. The U.S.S.R. claims that it is only holding 2,467 in connection with alleged war crimes and for medical reasons.

What is the explanation of this huge gap?

Did all of these missing persons die in action? Neither SCAP nor the Japanese Government has any official Soviet report to account for them. All we have is a Soviet press announcement dated September 11, 1945, stating that 80,000 Japanese officers and men were killed in action. This 80,000 is a gruesome total when we recall that the Soviet Union and Japan were engaged in active hostilities for only 6 days.

Did these missing persons die in Soviet prison camps after their capture? The Japanese Government and SCAP have not received a single death report or any list of deceased persons.

Does the Soviet Government call this record living up to its international obligations and agreements, agreements which specifically require death notifications?

As you know, nationals of many other countries fell into Soviet custody. These are also on the lists of the unrepatriated and unaccounted for human beings.

The Austrian Government reports a total of approximately 100,000 Austrian citizens missing. More than half of them were missing in Soviet territory. No official information about them has ever been sent to the Austrian authorities.

Repeated requests for information on Austrians killed in action or who have died in detention camps and are buried in the U.S.S.R. have produced no results.

Some 400 Austrian nationals, including five women, were returned recently. But many hundreds are still unaccounted for and are believed to be alive in prisoner camps. The Austrian Government has made every effort to secure the completion of the repatriation program.

Mr. Chairman, the Italian people are also vitally concerned with this issue. The Italian Government informs us that the Soviet Government claimed, early in 1943, to be holding 115,000 Italian prisoners in its custody. In November 1945, the Soviet Government announced the beginning of repatriation. Later, it announced that 20,096 Italian prisoners had been repatriated. But, in reply to repeated requests for information about

the tens of thousands still not accounted for, the only word was:

No Italian prisoners are found in the Soviet Union.

The Italian Government cannot accept this claim as true because Italian prisoners returning from Russian camps gave specific reports about others they saw there who have not been repatriated or accounted for in any way. Also, postal cards have been received in Italy from many prisoners which prove they were alive after the war but have not been accounted for or allowed to return home.

Large numbers of missing Italian prisoners are undoubtedly dead. The obligation of the country having them in custody to furnish lists and dates of deaths or death certificates has not been fulfilled, according to the Italian Government. No lists of the dead were received, and only 10 death certificates were forwarded.

There are numerous nationals from other countries who have suffered the same treatment. Information reaching the United States indicates that thousands of nationals of Hungary and Rumania are still awaited by their relatives, who are anxious to have them home or, at least, to have word about them whether they are dead or alive.

Large numbers of civilians, women as well as men, were taken into Soviet custody and are still missing, leaving their relatives to wonder whether they are dead or alive. Communication between them and their families and friends is restricted or completely denied.

Some prisoners of war may have been given civilian status. We understand some civilians have been included in prisoner-of-war transports and camps. Thus, in many places, there is no clear line of demarcation between civilians and military personnel. Both are held against their will and denied regular communication with the outside world. No official accounting has been made of either group.

Mr. Chairman, Soviet spokesmen often try to put themselves on the side of the masses, insisting they should not suffer for the sins of their rulers. Yet, in the handling of captives of war, the Soviets have struck at the masses, the millions of ordinary people—prisoners and their families. These families have had to wait and wonder for more than 5 years.

#### Public Interest Expressed

The most convincing evidence of the seriousness and scope of the problem before us is the roomfuls of letters in Japan and Germany from these anxious relatives. Just in the last few weeks, since it became known in Japan and Germany that I would speak for the United States on this issue, my mail has been full of letters from mothers and brothers and wives and sisters wanting word about someone they hope is still alive.



From this pile of letters, may I read a few short excerpts? You can understand why the deeply disturbed people who write them, in the very nature of this problem, tend to attach their hopes to any individual who speaks in their behalf. But really, their appeal is directed to all of us—to our Governments.

**A wife writes from Germany:**

In the Swiss newspaper . . . I read an article dealing with you and your work . . . and I apply to you in my great distress with the urgent request to be kind enough to use your influence on behalf of my husband. . . .

In his last letters he informed me that the Russian authorities were thinking of repatriating him. Repatriated prisoners told me that he was eventually retained from a transport of people eligible for repatriation. . . .

I have sent a letter in German, of which I enclose a copy, in English, to the Russian Foreign Secretary, Mr. Vyshinsky. Apologizing for the trouble I am putting you to, I ask you with all my heart to try to help me and discuss this matter, if there should be any possibility, with Mr. Vyshinsky personally.

**A Japanese wife writes, in part:**

My husband worked as a guard for the South Manchurian Railway. On the second of March 1946, my husband was carried away by the Soviets. I was repatriated with my two small children looking like beggars. I heard from him in July 1948. . . . Since then I have been looking forward to his homecoming.

My brother-in-law, who was with my husband, was repatriated in February and believed that my husband would soon be repatriated. . . . I can't understand why they keep him there. Brother-in-law says he was not sentenced, nor even accused as a war criminal. I don't understand this situation at all.

His eighty-year-old father is awaiting his return. My boy begs me to go and bring his daddy home. Please ask the United Nations to save us from this awful situation and send our loved-one home.

**A German wife writes at great length. She says, in part:**

From the statements of a comrade of my husband who was with him but has returned home, I learned that my husband was captured alive and unwounded. . . .

Since his capture I have been without any news from him. The last mail I received from him was dated May 6, 1944. Unfortunately, all conceivable inquiries which I made were in vain. A request for clemency which I directed to the following Soviet authorities has likewise had no results: The Minister of the Interior of the U.S.S.R.; the General in Charge of Prisoners of War Matters in the U.S.S.R.; the Commandant of the Soviet zone of occupation in Berlin.

I am living in the greatest of want with my two children, nine- and ten-year-old boys who are unprovided for. . . . The parents of my husband are old and it is their most fervent wish to see their long-lost son once again. Only the hope of seeing him again has helped us to survive all the hardships and sorrow.

**A Japanese mother writes:**

Please ask the United Nations to send back my only son. He has written me twice this year, on the 13th of May and again on the 30th. There isn't a shadow of doubt as to his being alive. I am an old woman of 60. I want my son back so badly. I want to see him. I went to Tokyo 4 times in search of information about him, but in vain. . . . Please ask the United Nations to send him back.

And, finally, a short excerpt from the letter of a mother in Germany:

I am the mother of a son who is missing in Russia since 1944 and of another son who returned healthy from English captivity in 1947. . . .

. . . Maybe our son is dead, then we would be content to have the true information of his death. But uncertainty is awful.

Mr. Chairman, these thousands of letters deserve to be answered. We hope these anxious relatives may be assured that their pleas have been heard, that the General Assembly has adopted the resolution on prisoners of war, and that a commission of the United Nations will begin work shortly on this historic task.

[Later in the debate, Mrs. Sampson made the following remarks.]

**Need for Impartial Commission**

The distinguished representative of the Soviet Union asserted that this case not only had no legality but also had no validity in fact. That is his opinion; it is not the opinion of the three Governments which placed this item on the agenda. It is not the opinion of the families in Germany and Japan which believe that their husbands, brothers, and sons are still alive in the Soviet Union. Whether there is any validity to this item is for the General Assembly to decide. Whether there is any validity to the Soviet statement that all prisoners have been repatriated should be for the Commission to determine.

I was disturbed to hear the distinguished representative of the Soviet Union say that his Government would have nothing to do with the United Nations on this matter. I hope that I misunderstood the Soviet representative, for it is a serious matter when any member of the United Nations announces that it will have nothing to do with the organization concerning an issue before the General Assembly. It would be a very serious matter if the Soviet Government took such an attitude after the General Assembly created a commission of inquiry. The members of the United Nations are entitled to know the facts in this case, and they are entitled to have the cooperation of every member in ascertaining these facts.

The distinguished representative of the Soviet Union protested, at some length, over the fact that the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan had issued different sets of figures. He complained that the Japanese Government and the Japanese press have issued conflicting statistics. Well, Mr. Chairman, the Soviet delegate put his finger on the crux of the problem before us. No one really knows the true facts and figures—no one outside the Soviet Government. No one knows how to reconcile these apparent discrepancies. It is, for this very reason, that

we have put this item on the agenda of the General Assembly. The world wants to know the facts. The world wants to obtain the correct figures. The people of Germany and Japan want to know the truth behind all these facts and figures.

The distinguished representative of the Soviet Union made many serious charges against my Government and other governments for their treatment of war prisoners. He alleged that the United States and other countries brutally mistreated the prisoners of war under our control and that we used them for slave labor. He charged that we are still holding many thousands of prisoners and refusing to repatriate them. Mr. Chairman, my Government does not for 1 moment admit the validity of any of these charges, but it is quite prepared to have these charges investigated by an impartial body. In fact, the Soviet representative, in making these charges, has offered another excellent reason for the creation of such an impartial body. If the Soviet representative wants the true facts about the number of war prisoners held by the United States and repatriated by the United States, he should vote for the joint resolution before this Committee. Paragraph 3(a) of that resolution offers the Soviet Government an opportunity to learn the true facts, for it relates to "prisoners coming within the custody of any foreign government." Paragraph 3(b) offers every member of the United Nations an opportunity to learn the true facts about war prisoners everywhere. Under that paragraph, the General Assembly would request—

the Commission to seek from the governments, or authorities concerned full information regarding prisoners coming within the custody or control of any foreign government as a consequence of military operations of the Second World War and not repatriated or otherwise accounted for.

In short, Mr. Chairman, this draft resolution asks the Soviet Union to do no more than we are prepared to do ourselves.

The Soviet representative challenged the accuracy of various figures regarding the Japanese prisoners of war. To this, I would say that these are the best we have available; they are based on several censuses taken during the war in the areas occupied by Japan and on Japanese Army and Navy strength figures adjusted to exclude all known battle deaths. But, quite apart from these statistics, the Japanese Government during the past year has been compiling a register of names based on the statements of returning repatriates and the families of persons who are missing. This register, which as yet is by no means completed, already contains over 316,000 separate names together with other data concerning the missing persons. If anything, the present estimate of 369,000 missing Japanese is very low; there is every likelihood that it will finally exceed 400,000 persons. It might even reach half a million per-

sons, the number which the Soviet delegate this morning admitted is missing. Now, whether these persons are in Hawaii or are in areas under Soviet control and influence, we might well leave to our proposed impartial commission to decide.

If, as the Soviet delegate would have us believe, all this information and all these statistics have been fabricated as part of some Machiavellian plot to slander the Soviet Union and promote a third world war, no one should be happier than the Soviet Union itself to have these figures investigated by a completely impartial body, to have this so-called fraud exposed, to have this imagined plot against the Soviet Union brought to light, and the matter laid to rest once and for all.

In short, the more the Soviet delegate questions the information, based as it is on the evidence of the families of the missing persons themselves, the more he establishes the need for exactly the sort of impartial body we are seeking, to investigate and make known the true facts.

#### **MEASURES FOR THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF PRISONERS OF WAR**

U.N. doc. A/1749  
Adopted Dec. 14, 1950  
Vote: 43-5-8

The General Assembly,

MINDFUL that one of the principal purposes of the United Nations is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of a humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all,

CONSIDERING that the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations,

BELIEVING that all prisoners having originally come within the control of the Allied Powers as a consequence of the second world war should either have been repatriated long since or have been otherwise accounted for,

RECALLING that this is required both by recognized standards of international conduct and the Geneva Convention of 1949 for the protection of war victims, and by specific agreements between the Allied Powers,

1. *Expresses* its concern at the information presented to it tending to show that large numbers of prisoners taken in the course of the second world war have neither been repatriated, nor otherwise accounted for;

2. *Calls upon* all Governments still having control of such persons to act in conformity with the recognized standards of international conduct and with the above-mentioned international agreements and conventions which require that, upon the cessation of active hostilities, all prisoners should, with the least possible delay, be given an unrestricted opportunity of repatriation and, to that end, to publish and transmit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations before 30 April 1951:

(a) The names of such prisoners still held by them, the reasons for which they are still detained and the places in which they are detained;

(b) The names of prisoners who have died while under their control as well as the date and cause of death, and the manner and place of burial in each case;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish an *Ad Hoc* Commission composed of three qualified and impartial persons chosen by the International Red Cross or failing that, by the Secretary-General himself, with a view to settling the question of the prisoners of war in

a purely humanitarian spirit and on terms acceptable to all the Governments concerned. The Commission shall convene at a suitable date after 30 April 1951 to examine and evaluate, in the light of the information made available to the fifth session of the General Assembly, the information furnished by Governments in accordance with the terms of the preceding paragraph. In the event that the Commission considers that this information is inadequate or affords reasonable ground for believing that prisoners coming within the custody or control of any foreign Government as a consequence of military operations of the second world war have not been repatriated or otherwise accounted for, the General Assembly:

(a) Requests the Commission to seek from the Governments or authorities concerned full information regarding such prisoners;

(b) Requests the Commission to assist all Governments and authorities who so desire in arranging for and facilitating the repatriation of such prisoners;

(c) Authorizes the Commission to use the good offices of any qualified and impartial person or organization who it considers might contribute to the repatriation or accounting for of such prisoners;

(d) Urges all Governments and authorities concerned to co-operate fully with the Commission, to supply all necessary information and to grant right of access to their respective countries and to areas in which such prisoners are detained;

(e) Requests the Secretary-General to furnish the Commission with the staff and facilities necessary for the effective accomplishment of its task;

4. *Urgently requests* all the Governments to make the greatest possible efforts, based in particular on the documentation to be provided, to search for prisoners of war whose absence has been reported and who might be in their territories;

5. *Directs* the Commission to report as soon as practicable the results of its work to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Members of the United Nations.

## **Palestine Question Poses Problem of Refugees and of an International Regime for Jerusalem**

### **STATEMENT BY JOHN C. ROSS<sup>1</sup>**

MR. CHAIRMAN: My delegation has examined with great care the draft resolution which has been tabled in this Committee by the distinguished representative of Egypt, our esteemed colleague and friend, Abdel Monem Mostafa Bey. It is evident that in proposing this resolution the Egyptian representative has been motivated by deep concern for the fate of the hundreds of thousands of innocent refugees from the Palestine conflict. I feel sure that I speak for the whole Committee when I say that all of us are filled with deepest concern for these victims of a conflagration for which they were not responsible.

### **Refugee Problem**

We are the more concerned as we realize that month after month has passed and that very little progress has been made toward the repatriation of these unfortunate people and the payment of compensation to them or to their resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation. Moreover, as the honorable delegate of the United Kingdom has pointed out this morning, we must face frankly the fact that the international community is not

likely indefinitely to continue its contributions to the support of the refugees.

The resolution tabled by the delegation of Egypt proposes one method of dealing with certain aspects of this most difficult and complex problem, namely, the aspects of repatriation and compensation. The method proposed in the Egyptian resolution is the establishment of a United Nations Agency for the Repatriation and Compensation of Palestine Refugees.

Speaking frankly, I must say that we question very seriously whether it is necessary or desirable to create an entirely new and separate United Nations body to deal with this problem. The draft four-power resolution before us proposes an alternative, that is, the creation of an office which would be under the direction of the Conciliation Commission. With the indulgence of my colleagues, I should like to allude to this aspect of the four-power resolution in a few moments.

I hope I may be confident that our Egyptian colleague and our colleagues of the other Arab delegations will find in our alternative proposal the most effective means of achieving the objectives which they have not only in mind but close to their hearts protection of the best interests of the refugees.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation is fully aware of the depth of the wound caused in the Near East by the Palestine conflict. It is only natural that passions should have run high as a result of this

<sup>1</sup> Made in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on Nov. 29 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date. Mr. Ross is an alternate U. S. representative to the General Assembly.



dispute, and my delegation does not expect miracles of progress toward the final settlement of the issues arising out of such a strife.

### **Settling Conflicts**

However, we should not be discouraged by the progress which has been made so far. The United Nations has played an extremely important role in the steps which have been taken to heal the scars caused by the Palestine war. The name of Count Folke Bernadotte, distinguished son of the Swedish nation, will live with us always as we recall the Count's heroism in devoting himself to the attempt to bring about a settlement between the parties in Palestine. Fully deserved tribute is also due to Count Bernadotte's successor, Dr. Ralph Bunche, who with his associates labored long and well to bring about the armistice agreements which now provide the framework for the relationship between the Arab States and Israel, as well as to Gen. William A. Piley, now in Palestine ably supervising the operation of the armistice agreements on behalf of the United Nations. An end was put to hostilities in Palestine, and we can all be thankful that under the armistice agreements gradual progress is being made away from war toward peace. Since the end of hostilities, the Palestine Conciliation Commission has contributed greatly through able and patient efforts to promote a settlement between the parties.

The task of the United Nations is to promote the establishment of peace all over the world by all means at its disposal. Therefore, it is our duty to attempt to contribute as much as we can to the amelioration of conditions in any part of the world where there is tension and conflict. We must, then, attempt to stimulate further the efforts which the United Nations has already made concerning Palestine, in the interests of the peace and security of the area. This is the guiding principle which has led my delegation to participate in the drafting and sponsoring of the four-power resolution now before us.

My delegation believes that, during the past year, there has been substantial progress toward fuller realization by the Governments concerned of the necessity of establishing better relations between themselves. As the Conciliation Commission points out, the indefinite prolongation of the state of armistice cannot but have adverse effects on the interests of all concerned, both separately and with regard to the area as a whole. It is a fundamental purpose of this resolution to attempt to create the basis for better relations in the area. The resolution recognizes a fact which must be apparent to all of us—that the refugee question is a problem vitally affecting the peace and stability of the Near East. This fact, taken in conjunction with the humanitarian aspects of the refugees tragedy, demands that the problem of these unfortunate people be dealt with as a matter of urgency.

The resolution passed by this Committee on November 27 shows the way to the beginning of permanent reintegration of the refugees through repatriation and resettlement. In this connection, it was with interest and appreciation that my delegation noted the declared intention of the Government of Israel to contribute to the reintegration fund proposed in this resolution. In the opinion of my delegation, the Governments in the Near East should without delay turn to the refugee question as a problem of the greatest priority, since as long as the refugees remain destitute, ill-housed, and dependent upon the charity of others, they will constitute a nucleus of human misery and suffering which can only have a harmful effect upon the well-being of the states concerned and of the area. This consideration is entirely apart from the humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem, which have resulted in generous official and nonofficial contributions by the international community for the relief of these people.

It is in the interests of the refugees that the draft four-power resolution proposes the establishment under the Conciliation Commission of an office to make such arrangements as it may consider necessary for the assessment and payment of compensation in pursuance of paragraph 11 of the General Assembly resolution of December 11, 1948, and to work out such arrangements as may be practicable for the implementation of the other objectives of the same paragraph. It is the intention of the drafters of the four-power resolution that the proposed office would work in closest cooperation and harmony with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

### **Direct Contacts Between Israelis and Arabs Urged**

The draft resolution which I am discussing also notes the concern my delegation feels, and which I am sure is shared by the other members of the Committee, that agreement has not been reached between the parties on the final settlement of the questions outstanding between them. The resolution seeks to promote better understanding and relations among the governments in the area by urging the latter to engage without delay in direct discussions under the auspices of the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, or independently, in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement of all questions outstanding between them. It is to be noted that for 2 years the parties have been dealing with the Palestine Conciliation Commission, but that there has been practically no direct contact between Arabs and Israelis. It is the belief of my delegation that such direct contact would enable the parties to set forth more effectively their respective points of view. It is our hope that direct contact may enable the parties to realize that there are broad fields where understandings between them will be mutually advantageous and will contribute to the strength and unity of the region. A

recommendation for direct discussions between the parties, under the auspices of a United Nations commission, is not such a remarkable thing. It does not seem illogical to expect that parties to a dispute should sit down together in an effort to reach a peaceful settlement of the issues dividing them. We have not at all disregarded the particularly bitter feelings which were engendered by the Palestine war. However, 2 years have passed since the hostilities ceased, and we believe that it is now our duty to attempt to persuade the parties that they should take the further step of sitting down either under the auspices of the Palestine Conciliation Commission or independently to discuss the questions which are in dispute between them. In urging that this be done, the cosponsors and ourselves have realized that the success of any such discussions, in fact the very undertaking of such discussions, must in the end depend upon the good will of the parties. We, therefore, have seen fit to urge the parties to exhibit this good will and to undertake direct discussions. We believe that a full, frank, and direct exposition by the parties of such doubts, fears, claims, and desires as they may have will be of assistance in contributing toward the betterment of relations between them and to the restoration of peace in the Near East.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a radical resolution. There is no magic formula which will suddenly provide a complete cure for the ills and troubles which beset this area of the world. We confidently believe nevertheless, that this resolution, if loyally carried out by the parties, will contribute to the establishment of better relations between Israel and the Arab States and to the welfare of the Palestine refugees. In discussions with the parties prior to the tabling of the resolution, our cosponsors and ourselves appealed to the representatives of the Arab States and Israel to make genuine efforts to understand the point of view of the other party and to cooperate in the fulfillment of the provisions of this draft, if it is accepted by the Committee. We trust that the Committee will agree that the resolution offers the possibility of progress toward the restoration of peace to the Near East and that it will accord its support to the draft.

#### STATEMENT BY JOHN C. ROSS<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this statement is to set forth the position of the United States on the question of Jerusalem, as well as the views of my delegation concerning the proposals and suggestions which have so far been made in this Committee on the problem we are dealing with. At the outset of these remarks I wish to make clear that the Government of the United States continues to support

<sup>1</sup> Made in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on Dec. 12 and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

the principle of an international regime for the Jerusalem area.

#### U.S. Position

The Government of the United States of America has consistently supported the United Nations in its handling of the problem of Jerusalem. It supported the provisions of the General Assembly Palestine resolution of November 29, 1947, concerning the internationalization of Jerusalem, until it became apparent that the resolution as a whole could not be implemented without the use of force.

Subsequently, the United States supported the adoption by the General Assembly of its resolution of December 11, 1948. This resolution, in establishing the Palestine Conciliation Commission, instructed the latter to present to the fourth regular session of the General Assembly detailed proposals for a permanent international regime for the Jerusalem area which would provide for the maximum local autonomy consistent with the special international status of the Jerusalem area. The United States, as a member of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, participated in drafting these proposals, and in the Assembly last year gave them its support in the belief that they represented a reasonable compromise between the interests of the world community and those of the inhabitants of the city. It was a matter of real regret to the United States delegation that the Assembly did not take under active consideration the proposals of the Conciliation Commission and that Israel and Jordan did not see fit to accord them support.

On December 9, 1949, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which determined that Jerusalem should be established as a *corpus separatum*. The Assembly directed the Trusteeship Council to complete the statute for Jerusalem which had previously been drafted under the provisions of the resolution of November 29, 1947, and to proceed at once to its implementation. Believing that such an approach to the question would be an impracticable one, the United States opposed this resolution. With your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, I quote a portion of a statement on this question made by the representative of the United States in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on December 5, 1949:

Mr. Chairman, I regret to have to say that the subcommittee's draft resolution deceives world opinion, particularly Arab and Christian opinion, for it has the appearance of complete internationalization but it offers no assurance whatsoever that any internationalization will be achieved. We do not believe that the United Nations should make a decision knowing in advance that it is not practicable to carry it out. World opinion looks to us not to make irresponsible and fruitless decisions, but to work out reasonable solutions for the problems which confront us. If the General Assembly acts otherwise it will be violating the trust given to it by the world. The question is not whether we shall have an international regime for Jerusalem. The question is rather whether we shall establish an international regime which



will adequately protect the interests of the international community, particularly the religious interests, and which will at the same time be effective.

#### **Efforts on Behalf of Jerusalem**

Events have proven that this statement was a prophetic one. As we all know, the Trusteeship Council carried out its mandate as regards the revision and completion of the 1947 statute. As a loyal member of the United Nations, the United States, despite its opposition to the principle under which the Council was working, participated constructively in the task of completing the statute. However, when the President of the Council complied with the Council's instructions to transmit the statute to the Governments of Israel and Jordan and to request their full cooperation in putting it into effect, he was, through no fault of his own, unable to obtain this cooperation and had no alternative but to report this fact back to the Council. Accordingly, the Council resolved to refer the whole question back to the General Assembly.

The Government of the United States continues to be fully aware of the importance of Jerusalem to the family of nations and of the desirability of immediate arrangements to grant to the world community its legitimate rights in the Holy City. The experience of the past year, however, has borne out all too clearly, in the opinion of the United States Government, that there is no practicable way to enforce and implement a statute firmly opposed by the inhabitants of the Jerusalem area and by the Governments exercising control over the city. This does not mean that the Governments of Israel and Jordan should have what amounts to the power of veto over decisions of the United Nations concerning Jerusalem. It does mean that the United Nations should not take decisions, which, by their very nature, give the Governments concerned and the people of Jerusalem no alternative but to oppose them and which, at the same time, would involve the international community in responsibilities not corresponding to its interests in the city. We must not forget that conditions in Jerusalem have greatly changed in the 3 years since the concept of the internationalization of Jerusalem, as contained in the 1947 resolution, was established. Political ties and physical connections between the Holy City and the State of Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan have been established and strengthened. The United States delegation believes that the Assembly must give full consideration to these changed conditions, while still maintaining its efforts to establish an international regime which will be in accord with the legitimate interests of the world community in the area.

We do not consider that it is desirable or practicable to seek to involve the United Nations in countless difficulties and responsibilities in Jerusalem in order to achieve purposes not all of which are of genuine concern to the international com-

munity—such as the establishment of a new and entirely separate political entity which does not conform to the wishes of the local people; the regulation of the day-to-day secular activities of the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and the provision of essential services, such as water, light, and sanitation, which are a necessary element in the daily life of a large and modern city. It is also not desirable for the United Nations to take impracticable steps which would delay and endanger the achievement of the purpose which must be the principal concern of every delegate here—to assure the immediate representation of the rightful authority of the United Nations in the Jerusalem area. It is not necessary to dwell again upon the huge financial and administrative burden which would fall upon the United Nations as a result of any attempt to establish and operate a city state in Palestine.

We must seek to avoid plunging the issue into further debate and wrangling, and to take a decision during this session of the Assembly which will resolve once and for all the controversy over the Holy City. Failure to take this action would be detrimental to the interests of the United Nations, to those of the three great religions of the world, and to the prospects of a final settlement of the outstanding differences in the Palestine area. It would also render much more difficult the establishment of any international authority in the area at a later date.

#### **Full Cooperation Needed**

Mr. Chairman, the United States Government continues to desire to see established a workable international regime for the Jerusalem area which will give genuine recognition to the international status of the area as a center of three great world religions; which would provide for the necessary protection of and access to the Holy Places under United Nations supervision; which would contribute to the peace and stability of the Jerusalem area; and which would take into account the interests of the principal communities in Jerusalem and the views of Israel and Jordan. We have sought these objectives through our participation in the work of the Palestine Conciliation Commission on Jerusalem, and last year in the General Assembly. We are prepared this year again to offer full cooperation to interested delegations in an effort to reconcile varying points of view on this issue and to arrive at a solution of the Jerusalem problem which will achieve the objectives I have stated.

The United States delegation has studied with interest and appreciation the draft proposal for an international regime for the Jerusalem area tabled by the delegation of Sweden. We consider this effort on the part of the Swedish delegation and of those who have collaborated with that delegation to be a constructive contribution to the



solution of the problem and to our work in this Committee. In the opinion of my delegation, the approach to the problem outlined in the Swedish draft contains the elements of a solution which would take into consideration the international interests and rights in the Holy City, as well as those of Israel and Jordan. Israel has already indicated general acceptance of the Swedish proposal, and the United States delegation was considerably disappointed when the distinguished representative of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan revealed yesterday that important aspects of the draft were unacceptable to his Government. As far as my delegation can see, the terms of the Swedish draft would not involve any appreciable derogation of Jordanian sovereignty in Jerusalem. Be that as it may, however, the representative of Jordan has indicated that his Government is prepared formally to give to the United Nations the pledges outlined in the Swedish proposal. The Jordanian Government is also prepared, as we learned yesterday, to accept and cooperate with a representative of the United Nations sent to Jerusalem to represent the interests of the world community in the Holy City. Presumably, the Government of Israel is also agreeable to these conditions. Under the circumstances, the United States delegation would be interested to learn the reaction of the Committee to a possible modification of the Swedish proposal wherein the greater part of the preamble would be maintained, as well as part A containing the pledges which the Governments in the Holy Land would be invited to give to the United Nations. In lieu of part B, there would be a provision that, pending further decisions by the United Nations on the status of the City, a United Nations representative with staff would be sent to Jerusalem to represent the interests of the world community. The further decisions of the United Nations concerning Jerusalem which have been referred to might be taken on the basis of the recommendations of the United Nations representative, who would have the benefit of experience on the spot and of full and constant consultations with the parties. Such an approach to the problem would, in the opinion of my delegation, not be so satisfactory as that contained in the Swedish draft in its present form, and we would only be prepared to support it should it prove acceptable to the majority of the General Assembly and should Jordan and Israel be prepared to accept or at least acquiesce in it. The Swedish proposal as it now stands, and the modification I have just outlined, would not in themselves constitute a final settlement of the Jerusalem question. They would, however, constitute an important step in the direction of a final settlement, a step upon which later decisions would be built.

I should like to make a few brief comments on the suggestion of the distinguished representative of Belgium that a Committee be established to

negotiate further concerning the status of Jerusalem. My delegation agrees with the representative of Belgium that no stone should be left unturned in this matter, but we consider that the negotiations which have so far taken place on the Jerusalem question have been exhaustive. As a member of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, my Government has full knowledge of the painstaking and careful manner in which the Commission examined every aspect of the Jerusalem question before making its recommendations to the General Assembly. We have also been aware of the protracted negotiations which have recently taken place between the delegations of Sweden and the Netherlands on the one hand and those of Israel and Jordan on the other. We are accordingly satisfied that the problem has been thoroughly discussed with the interested parties, and we believe that the Assembly should take a step in the direction of a final settlement during the present session. For this reason, we cannot support the suggestion of our esteemed Belgian colleague.

#### **ASSISTANCE TO PALESTINE REFUGEES**

U.N. doc. A/1603  
Adopted Dec. 2, 1950

The General Assembly,

RECALLING its resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949,

HAVING EXAMINED the report of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (A/1451), and the report of the Secretary-General concerning United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (A/1452),

1. Notes that contributions sufficient to carry out the programme authorized in paragraph 6 of resolution 302 (IV) have not been made, and urges Governments which have not yet done so to make every effort to make voluntary contributions in response to paragraph 13 of that resolution;

2. Recognizes that direct relief cannot be terminated as provided in paragraph 6 of resolution 302 (IV);

3. Authorizes the Agency to continue to furnish direct relief to refugees in need, and considers that, for the period 1 July 1951 to 30 June 1952, the equivalent of approximately \$20,000,000 will be required for direct relief to refugees who are not yet reintegrated into the economy of the Near East;

4. Considers that, without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, the reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the Near East, either by repatriation or resettlement, is essential in preparation for the time when international assistance is no longer available, and for the realization of conditions of peace and stability in the area;

5. Instructs the Agency to establish a reintegration fund which shall be utilized for projects requested by any Government in the Near East and approved by the Agency for the permanent re-establishment of refugees and their removal from relief;

6. *Considers* that, for the period 1 July 1951 to 30 June 1952, not less than the equivalent of \$30,000,000 should be contributed to the Agency for the purposes set forth in paragraph 5 above;

7. *Authorizes* the Agency, as circumstances permit, to transfer funds available for the current relief and works programmes, and for the relief programme provided in paragraph 3 above, to reintegration projects provided for in paragraph 5;

8. (a) *Requests* the President of the General Assembly to appoint a Negotiating Committee composed of seven or more members for the purpose of consulting, as soon as possible during the current session of the General Assembly, with Member and non-member States as to the amounts which Governments may be willing to contribute on a voluntary basis towards:

(i) The current programme for relief and works for the period ending 30 June 1951, bearing in mind the need for securing contributions from Member States which have not yet contributed;

(ii) The programme of relief and reintegration projects as provided for in paragraphs 3 and 4 above for the year ending 30 June 1952;

(b) *Authorizes* the Negotiating Committee to adopt procedures best suited to the accomplishment of its task, bearing in mind:

(i) The need for securing the maximum contribution in cash;

(ii) The desirability of ensuring that any contribution in kind is of a nature which meets the requirements of the contemplated programmes;

(iii) The importance of enabling the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to plan its programmes in advance and to carry them out with funds regularly contributed;

(iv) The degree of assistance which can continue to be rendered by specialized agencies, non-member States and other contributors;

(c) *Requests* that, as soon as the Negotiating Committee has ascertained the extent to which Member States are willing to make contributions, all delegations be notified accordingly by the Secretary-General in order that they may consult with their Governments;

(d) *Decides* that, as soon as the Negotiating Committee has completed its work, the Secretary-General shall at the Committee's request arrange, during the current session of the General Assembly, an appropriate meeting of Member and non-member States at which Members may commit themselves to their national contributions and the contributions of non-members may be made known;

9. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, to advance funds, deemed to be available for this purpose and not exceeding \$5,000,000, from the Working Capital Fund to finance operations pursuant to the present resolution, such sum to be repaid not later than 31 December 1951;

10. *Calls upon* the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies to utilize to the fullest extent the Agency's

facilities as a point of reference and coordination for technical assistance programmes in the countries in which the Agency is operating;

11. *Expresses* its appreciation to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Refugee Organization, the International Labour Organisation and the Food and Agriculture Organization for the assistance which they have rendered, and urges them to continue to furnish all possible assistance to the Agency;

12. *Commends* the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, and the American Friends Service Committee for their invaluable services and whole-hearted co-operation in the distribution of relief supplies until those functions were taken over by the Agency;

13. *Expresses* its thanks to the numerous religious, charitable and humanitarian organizations whose programmes have brought much needed supplementary assistance to the Palestine refugees, and urges them to continue and expand, to the extent possible, the work which they have undertaken on behalf of the refugees;

14. *Extends* its appreciation and thanks to the Director and staff of the Agency and the members of the Advisory Commission for their effective and devoted work.

## **International Court Sets Deadlines for Filing Statements on U.S. Nationals in Morocco**

*[Released to the press by the U.N. Department of Public Information November 28]*

*The following was received at U.N. Headquarters at Lake Success from the Registry of the International Court of Justice, The Hague.*

The International Court of Justice has fixed the following time limits for deposit at The Hague of documents of the written procedure in the case concerning rights of United States nationals in Morocco:

For the Memorial of the Government of the French Republic—1 March 1951.

For the Counter-Memorial of the United States Government—1 July 1951.

For the Reply of the Government of the French Republic—1 September 1951.

For the Rejoinder of the United States Government—1 November 1951.

This timetable was fixed by the Court in an order dated 22 November 1950. The application instituting proceedings against the United States Government was filed with the Court's Registry on 28 October by the French Chargé d'Affaires at The Hague.

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